



Daily Report

East Europe

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NOTICE TO READERS: As of 2 January 1991, television sourcelines in the DAILY REPORT will reflect how a station identifies itself. In most cases, this change eliminates the "Television Service" designation in favor of the station identification as broadcast. The presence of a new television sourceline reflects this change in policy, rather than the establishment of a new station or network.

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Kuwait Refutes Iraqi Claims of Passport Swapping

*LD1001002291 Prague CTK in English 1858 GMT
9 Jan 91*

[Text] Prague Jan 9 (CTK)—The Kuwaiti Embassy in Czechoslovakia has described the assertion of the Iraqi Embassy in Czechoslovakia that a number of people have asked for exchange of Kuwaiti passports for Iraqi ones as "fabrications".

CTK was today informed by the Iraqi Embassy in Czechoslovakia that Iraqi diplomatic missions offer to people holding Kuwaiti passports their exchange for Iraqi ones. According to the Iraqi Embassy a number of people wish to exchange their passports.

The Kuwaiti Embassy told CTK that a number of Iraqi citizens strive for their Iraqi citizenship to be changed for any other on the ground of being targets of oppression, violence, persecution and the threat of being killed by the dictatorial Iraqi regime.

USSR To Attend Labor Ministers' Meeting

*AU0901131791 Prague CTK in English 1720 GMT
7 Jan 91*

[Text] Prague Jan 7 (CTK)—Soviet Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Boris Pankin confirmed to Czechoslovak Labour and Social Affairs Minister Petr Miller here today that the USSR will attend the European Labor Ministers' Meeting in Prague at the end of next April.

Its main topic will be problems concerning the migration of workers and the consequences of structural changes in Central and Eastern Europe. Pankin voiced his country's readiness to participate in the preparations of the meeting.

Miller informed him that the meeting has received much attention in the whole of Europe as it will be the first get-together of representatives from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe on this issue.

The meeting is being prepared in cooperation with the International Labor Office in Geneva.

Miller received Boris Pankin at his own request.

Walkout Reported in Country's Largest Coal Mine*AU0901142491 Paris AFP in English 1328 GMT
9 Jan 91*

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 9 (AFP)—Workers in Albania's biggest coal mine at Valias, near Tirana, walked out Monday to press demands for pay hikes and a postponement of the country's first multi-party elections due February 10, a report in an Albanian opposition newspaper said Wednesday.

Albanian President Ramiz Alia again rejected the demands in talks with opposition leaders Wednesday but opposition leaders have said the poll must be delayed to give them more time to prepare. The opposition Democratic Party paper RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in its second issue also published a letter by 15 workers of the Qafebali copper mine in northern Albania who had been fired after a walkout on December 20 and calling for better work conditions, author and opposition activist Besnik Mustafaj told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in a telephone call.

Albania's official unions declared themselves independent of the communist government last month but have not backed demands by striking workers as yet.

RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE which is published twice a week has a circulation of 50,000 copies. It has also published reports on opposition meetings, harassment of dissidents by the police, and on the country's still illegal Human Rights Forum. The paper has also started publishing the novel The Building of the Cheops Pyramid by exiled Albanian writer Ismail Kadare.

PDSH Forms Branch in Berat; Rally Held*AU0901204991 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Text] A rally was organized this afternoon in front of the Tomor Stadium in Berat on the occasion of the formation of the Democratic Party's [PDSH] branch in this city.

In the name of the Initiating Commission for the creation of the PDSH branch in Berat, the rally was opened by (?Gjاليق Sina), who said, among other things, that in these historic times, our people are showing the world that they are in favor of progress on the road of democracy, and that political pluralism, as an aspiration of the Albanians, will no doubt assist the country's progress toward Europe. These days more than ever call for tolerance and the achievement of democracy by democratic means. Azem Hajdari, chairman of the Initiating Commission of the PDSH, among other things evoked the ancient traditions of the people of Berat, who have always struggled for freedom and progress. The PDSH is in favor of dialogue and the full creation of a law-governed state, in which each person will freely express his views and opinions. Talking about economic emigration, he emphasized that the PDSH favors

organized emigration, and that Albanians must work abroad with dignity, according to their intellectual and physical abilities.

Meanwhile, Gramoz Pashko dwelt on the PDSH's economic program, and emphasized its objective of improving the difficult economic situation and increasing development, so that Albania will join the great family of Europe. Democracy, he said, is a merit of the Albanian people, and they will move toward Europe but not by destroying what has been created. Simon (?Rusho), the student Gjergj [name indistinct], the Tirana University teacher Edmond Sinani, and [name indistinct] also spoke, and stressed that the PDSH will work for the country's dignified integration into the European Community. They put forward their familiar demands for a postponement of the elections and the release of all political prisoners. The slogans freedom—democracy, and we, like all Europe, love Albania were shouted at the rally.

Alia Meets With PDSH Leaders; Elections Viewed*AU0901220191 Tirana ATA in English 0948 GMT
9 Jan 91*

[Text] Tirana, January 9 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia received a representation of the Democratic Party [PDSH], composed of the chairman of the Initiating Commission of this party, Azem Hajdari, as well as Sali Berisha, Gramoz Pashko, Arben Imami, Aleksander Meksi, and Genc Pollo, at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on January 8, afternoon.

During the meeting they discussed on the coming elections to the People's Assembly. The representatives of the Democratic Party presented to the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly their known demands regarding the elections and first of all their postponement.

Comrade Ramiz Alia explained to them the country's political and economic situation, which with each passing day is making ever more urgent a quicker, free and open election, consultation with the people.

Under the current circumstances, he said, we should not take into account the narrow party interests, but the lofty interests of the people and of the nation, which would be greatly endangered if the legislative and executive organs of the state, which will emerge from the new elections, will not get the immediate vote of confidence from the people.

The new People's Assembly should be, Comrade Ramiz Alia said in conclusion, the assembly of the direct representatives of the people, expression of their free political will and not a parcelled arena of political parties.

The duty of the parties is to assist the people in exercising their genuine power, in being self-determined.

He appealed to the representatives of the Democratic Party to reflect better on the situation at home and contribute as much as they can to its improvement with democratic and patriotic spirit.

Skrapar Villagers Protest Unemployment, Housing

*AU0901204291 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Telephone report by Skrapar correspondent Riza Breza—live or recorded]

[Text] Some of the inhabitants of the village of Kakruke, part of the 5 September Agricultural Enterprise in Skrapar District, held a public demonstration between 0730 and 0930 this morning, in accordance with the rules and regulations in force.

At the demonstration, the workers Ylli Leshani and Bilbil Hasani spoke, repeating their demands for the employment of the unemployed [forca te lira], drinking water for the village, and spoke about the housing problem and their opposition to the settlement here of inhabitants from the villages of Krushove and (?Metke), whose houses are in a critical state because of landslides in these areas. We explain that, since 15 November, the inhabitants of this village have been illegally living in 32 houses built for these other villages. In connection with this problem, we met Rifat Braho, chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, who told us:

Besides our meetings, discussions, and speeches, these problems raised in Kakruke have also been placed before the Executive Committee and higher bodies. The Council of Ministers, in Decree No. 2,385, dated 18 December 1990 for the solution of the problems of the village of Kakruke, laid down concrete measures which have been included in this year's plan. As a result, the construction of a pumping station has recently begun, in which 1.5 million leks have been invested, and which will irrigate for the first time 54 hectares of arable land, and will improve the irrigation of a further 50 hectares. This will improve the crop structure, and will employ more workers. Furthermore, investments of 1.5 million leks in this enterprise have been increased to 1.7 million leks in order to create new jobs. For instance, only 17 people remain unemployed in Kakruke today. Work is now in progress to obtain drinking water from (?Povove). Pumps and some of the pipes have arrived. For our part, we would add there is room for greater commitment here, and a full provision of subsidies. As for housing, the competent organs have agreed to build in Kakruke 15 additional apartments above the plan, excepted from the Government Decree No. 19 Dated 1 December 1990. This represents seventy percent of the local housing needs, while construction in the town will cover only 15-20 percent. Not only this, but priority will be given to grants of credit and building materials for other houses. To fully carry out these measures, we will watch the problem closely, and issue further reports.

Need for New Legal Thinking Emphasized

*AU0901085991 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
23 Dec 90 pp 6-7*

[Article by Qemal Lame, candidate of legal sciences: "Democracy and Legal Thinking"]

[Text] The present period through which our country is passing is an historically and politically important time, because it involves the total democratization of the country's life. The recent sessions of the People's Assembly and the important speeches of Comrade Ramiz Alia have paved the way for these developmental processes for our country, in the contemporary mainstream of modern Western European civilization.

The democratization of all our country's life is under continual refinement. The powerful support of the people and their demands for it to be carried out in full show that democratization is inexorable, irreversible, and indomitable. Despite the obstacles and difficulties encountered in the ignorance or bureaucratic attitudes of stereotyped or sclerotic minds, reform and democratization are now being finally crowned with legal sanctions in the changes to the Albanian Constitution.

There is discussion and debate about the process of democratization among all social strata and groups. The general view is to correctly appreciate the measures that have been taken. People are looking forward with confidence to the future of this conception of state, economic, and social activity.

Opinions, attitudes, and interpretations, however, exist that respond to new phenomena with suspicion or fear. These generally occur among conservative people who have grown used to a certain way of behavior and who do not wish to see any disturbance of their ease or removal of their privileges, whether deserved or excessive. There are some who live off their reputation or off an inherited past. There are others who put themselves forward as useful, capable, and indispensable at all times.

It is a success of historic importance that political pluralism was accepted and established in a democratic way with the decision of the 13th Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum and the decree of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

The democratic winds are spreading goodwill across our country too. In this cold winter, the warm breeze of democracy is not encountering glaciers or avalanches of snow, but joy, support from public opinion, and hope for a better future for the Albanian people and nation. Democratic changes on a democratic road, as Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out in his message to the people, are the only right way. Our people and nation and the whole of international public opinion have therefore welcomed them, and have indignantly condemned the recent terrorist and vandalistic acts committed by hooligans incited by dark forces.

The maturity, wisdom, and skill of the people, the state, and the party were once again evident in the cool-headed solution brought to recent events. I think that the delicate phase of confronting violence and bloodshed was passed through splendidly. Two achievements were visible: First, democracy was not established in Albania as it was in other countries, with severe consequences for people's lives and the economy; second, democracy is deepening and will acquire a full physiognomy with the democratic measures which are sought by the majority of the people as they become increasingly conscious and aware of contemporary developments. In the course of this, there must be no tendencies toward revenge. Our people have learned lessons from the past about vendettas and divisions, and will not allow these to recur. Tolerance will be found with culture and civilized measures, and the verdict of reason will eliminate misunderstandings and strengthen the unity of the people and the nation.

The full establishment of democracy according to the demands of political pluralism involves certain definite legal and political settlements; therefore, it therefore demands continual care. The measures so far have aimed at moderate changes, so that, as experience is gained, other goals and changes may be achieved. Nevertheless, I think that certain familiar problems call for quick solutions, to avoid the impression that the changes are being carried out under pressure.

Democratic reform is successfully achieved under the conditions of a stable political and economic system. Present conditions have made the saying that a person must lead a better life before involving himself in politics a topical one. This requires work, discipline, and effort from everybody to strengthen the economy.

It will be up to the new People's Assembly which will emerge from the new elections to decide further solutions to the problems of full democratization. The changes to be made to the Constitution have created the opportunity to reflect the operation of a law-governed state, pluralist democracy, and the market economy. This demands up-to-date legal thinking and deep work of study to make regulations appropriate for our country's conditions.

Albanian legal thinking has always been progressive. It has lent its assistance to the development of the state and of justice; however, it must be admitted that it has lagged behind in some directions. There are shortcomings in its conception of a law-governed state and the enforcement of legality, in which borrowings or adaptations from Soviet and Chinese experience have been influential. There has been little research in the field of jurisprudence. Even when a study has been carried out, it has not, to say the least, received the proper support and encouragement.

The changes to the Constitution and the measures to improve the state's activity on the basis of the law demand closer work with lawyers, an appreciation for

their views, and their involvement in state duties. Existing cadres need to acquaint themselves with the legislation of other countries. Increased demands for postgraduate training and specialization abroad would help in this. Teaching staff at the Justice Faculty, at the lecture delivered by the distinguished Albanian-American lawyer Steve Duni [name as published], recognized their lack of knowledge of the justice organs of the United States and the necessity of a high level of training for lawyers.

New legal thinking also calls for a new kind of man with up-to-date knowledge. Those lawyers who put themselves forward as leading authorities in and out of season sometimes confuse matters more than helping them forward, and bear no responsibility. The view in the law and the economy has been that we have our own distinctive experience and have no need to learn from the world. This has led to the creation of a generation of cadres with little knowledge of other countries. This "sterilization" has meant that we are aware of our shortcomings, now that there is a need to introduce up-to-date legal and economic methods. One fact strikes the eye: Ideas are less appreciated than anything else, although in every other country "gray matter" is bought at a very high price because of the encouragement it gives to development. There are changes in those fields where interest has been shown, such as culture, art, literature, the natural sciences, etc., and there is pleasure and pride in a cadre's abilities and the standards he shows in his work and international social activities.

There is room to improve the Constitution, by divesting it of certain formulations that are inappropriately ideological. These formulations, whether appropriate or not, have been transferred mechanically into the legislation, from the law codes upwards. Politicization and ideologization became very widespread especially after the approval of the new Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. For instance, such demands also entered the cultural and artistic fields. Even newspapers of a specifically literary and artistic character such as DRITA assumed a political character in these years.

There is a limit to explorations, experimentation, and the blazing of new trails. Such things must be subjected to timely analysis, to consider their effect and not to persist in mistakes. A dialectical materialist attitude should also be reflected in this aspect. The a priori judgment of certain problems and a skeptical attitude toward them leads to consequences, whether desired or not; therefore, other people do not accept some things which we have, which seem bizarre to them. Is it better for us to follow well-known paths which have now become broad highways and are strewn with flowers, to stand still, or to struggle forward without anybody's company? In any event, the interests of the people and the nation take and must take priority.

The political and legal superstructures, like other areas of social activity, have their political character; however,

this should not lead to the elimination or reduction of the main tasks carried out by the different organs of the state mechanism. The correct conclusions that have been reached on the separation of the state's activities from those of the party will achieve the necessary conditions for the rule of law and for all organs to carry out their work on the basis of the law. The party in power, as the managing nucleus of the state, guides their policies through its members and the decisions it makes, and has a powerful influence on them, but there will be no legal possibility of its duplicating or supplanting the state and the social organs which, with the removal of the party's leading role from the Constitution, are independent bodies.

The separation of the state's activity from that of the party also poses the need for a legal definition of the party and of political and social organizations. The definition of their activities will help regulate the state mechanism in its relations with the activities of the party and the mass organizations, so that each body does its own work. There is also room to define the rights and freedoms of citizens in certain main areas such as employment, education, housing, etc., to ensure that the state is not backward in meeting its obligations.

The lifting of restrictions and prohibitions on religion and religious propaganda is a just measure. Time has shown that hasty measures were taken against religion, and that decisions must not be imposed contrary to the people's spiritual feelings. The free exercise of religious belief is a demand of the UN Organization's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which we adhere, as well as of the Helsinki Final Act and that of Paris. Prohibiting religion increased curiosity in it and it became what you might call "forbidden fruit."

The problem of religion calls for its own regulation by law, as in every state and as we once had. The younger generation in general is atheist and will properly appreciate the new attitude to religion. Religious institutions will open according to the familiar regulations, if the people want them. What happens in some cases in secret and under the pressure of fear is natural. Educational work will eliminate problems that may arise. There will be a broad understanding of religion. The people have a tradition about it. The common idea that "an Albanian's religion is Albania" has united the Albanians, and has not allowed any harm to be done to national unity and identity.

A condition of improving the political and legal system is more effective work on the part of the highest lawmaking and executive organs. For this reason, I think that it is necessary for the People's Assembly to be in perpetual activity. Its commissions too should work in this way. It would be a good idea for the People's Assembly also to have its commissions or a group of deputies for Albanians outside the homeland. There is also a need for a further special organism, or for more tangible work on the part of the Commission for Foreign Relations.

Although our country is small, it recognizes and guarantees all the constitutional rights of national minorities. We make similar demands of others. There are countries that deny the Albanians everything, as Serbia does in Kosovo and in some other areas where there are many Albanians. There are other countries where they are not even recognized as a minority and where they are not allowed to learn about their culture or are denied education in their mother tongue.

I think the commissions should include people of authority and capable cadres. This problem calls for attention particularly in such cases as the Judicial Commission, whose composition includes four lawyers and a number of peasants, herdsmen, etc. Laws are acts that require trained legal thinking, and more lawyers must be involved in drafting them. The activities of the Army and the internal affairs organs must also be subjected to the work of the Assembly and its commissions; there should be a law for the security of the state and the Army, to acquaint everybody with their delicate work which is so sensitive to public opinion.

I think that the functioning of a law-governed state also demands changes to the competences of the head of state. The collegial leadership of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, as a collective organ, is not very effective and perhaps the time has come to replace it with a head of state. It is necessary for the government, the ministries, other central institutions, the executive committees of district people's councils, and these councils themselves to operate independently from the party and to bear responsibility for all their work.

The rule of law demands that every act must be based on the law and not on guidelines, directives, instructions, orders, authorities, and individuals. This involves many obligations regarding the punctilious assessment and enforcement of the law and a change in the working methods of state and party organs. No transient interest or obstacle can dictate decisions that are not provided for in the law, or, even worse, are illegal.

The measures taken to create the Ministry of Justice and to introduce attorneys improve the functioning of the state. They have helped to enforce legality and to increase the masses' faith in justice. The organs of justice have suffered from frequent changes and reorganization. In their definition in the Constitution and in laying down the relations between them, it would be valuable to bear in mind and strengthen their democratic character, especially in respect of the Investigator's Office. If the judge-investigator system is accepted as the most suitable, it would be a good idea to make it fully cover the organs of justice and to change the structure of the organs of internal affairs. It is a characteristic of a law-governed state that these organs, like state organs in general, must carry out their state functions independently from the party or parties.

The further democratization of the system of justice also exposes the need for a constitutional court. To enforce

legality more widely in the economy and the administration, there is a need to study the possibility of a court for economic affairs, a labor court, and an administrative court.

Any work done by the state or society is carried out correctly when it is organized in a definite way. If equilibrium or regulations are upset in any way, however small, distortions arise that cannot be repaired, thus leading to the degeneration or vulgarization of the work of the organs and their employees. Improvements are also necessary in the law codes, because they are very briefly formulated and resemble a rule-book more than an important legal document. A graduation of crimes in the Penal Code and improvements in the Code of Penal Procedure for trials by decree would lead to a further reduction in the numbers of persons convicted, would prevent sentences causing discontent or hostility, and would further strengthen the people's unity.

The changes made in the Penal Code regarding crimes against the state democratized penal policy and increased responsibility for a more just assessment of crimes. In the last six months, since the changes in the law, only one person has been sentenced for crimes against the state, for agitation and propaganda against the state. In practice, punishment has been removed for verbal crimes and much greater appreciation is being shown for the freedom of thought guaranteed by the Constitution. Political pluralism presents the need for other changes in the Penal Code regarding political crimes and their punishment.

There is a rising number of illegal border crossings. This is a fact that has attracted the attention of the state organs and public opinion. Alongside the enforcement of legality, there is also room for a broader study of this phenomenon, bearing in mind and appreciating public opinion on this.

In general, these people, like those who enter embassies, have an economic motive. For this reason, they are not being granted the political asylum which they claim and are treated as refugees. They have wandered the streets of Europe like many others from Africa and the countries of the East. Perhaps solving the problem of emigration will exert a positive influence. Under present conditions, when people's freedom of residence and movement is accepted, this problem requires regulation. In this sphere too, there is place for preserving the pride and dignity of an Albanian, which distinguish him even in comparison with other peoples.

Improving the entire political system demands all-round work on the part of all state, economic, and social organs and broad participation by the working masses. An appreciation of the will of the people and its reflection in the work of every organization are necessary demands for carrying out democratic processes and eliminating phenomena that hamper normal work and come into conflict with the law. At present and in the future, it is

vital to make these processes concrete and material in respect of the problems which worry society as a whole and each individual.

* Democracy Needs Tolerance of Opposing Opinions

91P20065A Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 23 Dec 90
p 2

[Hamit Borici article: "The Democratic Culture of Debate"]

[Excerpts] As we learned from our press, radio, and television, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania, in its meeting on Thursday, discussed and adopted some important decisions. The subject of the discussions was the tasks facing the Democratic Front organizations in the election campaign. But the meeting came to a halt in a thrashing out of opinions regarding the draft program of the Democratic Front of Albania. Everything went along well. But we were struck by something which is related to democracy and to the democratization of the Democratic Front organization. It is a matter of the manner, or, more precisely, the content of some of the discussions and the culture of the debate. The draft program was being discussed so there was justification for the concern of many members of the General Council of the Democratic Front and of the guests for raising the draft to a higher qualitative level, so that it would better respond to the great process of the democratization of life in the country, so that, in the elections for People's Assembly deputies, the Democratic Front would have its own individuality as a broad political and mass organization and would achieve the desired successes, as always, in this important political action.

But there were also conformist and traditional discussions which are now outmoded. These discussants spoke theoretically, expressing support for the matter under discussion and the material presented. However, they spoke in circumlocutions, with bombastic expressions and rhetoric. They did not address the crux of the problem. They remained on the sidelines and did not deal with the content of the issue. Those people who spoke supported the new developments in our society, the active development of the entire life of the country and the demands of the times. They praised the role of Comrade Ramiz Alia in these developments and advancements. Unanimously, the Council expressed profound indignation at the acts of vandalism of a few hooligans in the cities of Kavaje, Shkoder, Elbasan, and Durrës. They condemned them, expressing the opinion that these hooligans wanted to destroy everything we have built with sweat and struggle and that they wanted to throw stones at our wheels, on our road to progress.

Let us return to the discussions. When the matter of presenting opinions on a definite and concrete program was raised, there was no reason to discuss it in general without examining a single specific point of the draft which was prepared several days earlier. Discussions

using catchwords, euphoric terms, and general terms are useless and outmoded. Panegyrics in the high tribune of the Democratic Front, where opinions are sought on the great current and future issues of society, are counter-productive.

Some people reacted when there was any discussion which was "outside the traditional rut," outside the mania for catchwords and phraseology. The discussant who "broke" the rules, after expressing support for the democratic developments and after expressing profound indignation at those people who, with their vandalistic activities and attitudes, aimed at preventing our progress, presented some suggestions for the draft program. Their opinions were concrete. They expressed them with modesty and they behaved properly.

But before the speech ended, some people reacted from their places in the audience, crying: "I do not agree!" Good! It is the right of every person to contradict the opinion of another person when he is not convinced and, especially, when he presents his own arguments to the contrary. But one does not have the right to accost another with pomposity or with empty words or to offend the discussant or to divert his attention from the issue or the idea. [passage omitted]

But what did the first discussant say with which they did not agree? Let us take only one comment—the fact that the draft program does not clearly present the organization of the Front, its multiparty core! It seems to me that it is appropriate, very appropriate, to bring up this issue. The organization of the Democratic Front is the successor of the great militant political organization of the years of the people's revolution, the National Liberation Front, which had for its credo, militant unity, the unity of the people regardless of religion, region, or ideology. It was desired that this credo would be in the center of the work and platform of the Front, but, under the new conditions and in contemporary circumstances, in which each distinguishing aspect, religious or ideological, has another meaning. It is not a question of ideological distinctions in the general political line, such as those represented by the traitorous organizations such as Balli Kombetar, Legaliteti, and others.

Today, there is a discussion about differences, "distinctions" in roads, about different ideas, about the achievement of the great ideal: the preservation of freedom, independence, and integrity on the new levels of economic, cultural, and social development and progress. The fact that other discussants agreed with this comment and the fact that the Council set up a working group to rewrite the draft program indicate that some discussants raised serious and basic issues. Of course, there were some things which required a thrashing out of opinions and the first discussant was involved in these matters. But the main thing was that the discussion was open and opinions were thrashed out. This was necessary. This is the way to arrive at a unified and correct opinion which will mobilize the members of the Democratic Front in their work and life. This organization is and must be the

tribune for the thrashing out of the broad opinion of the masses, a living expression of the democratic opinion of the people, and the tribune of the diversity of opinions.

The "culture of discussion" is a political and ideological culture but also a social culture. In the discussion, each person is treated as a partner, as a friend and comrade and in no other way. If you agree to engage in the debate, you listen with patience, you are tolerant, you take note, and, after the other person has finished speaking, you express your opinions, you present opposing views without preconceptions and prejudices. The person who has the more reasonable and stronger arguments is the one who wins. Our work, society, development, and progress are also winners. [passage omitted]

Three other participants thrashed out their opinions, sometimes agreeing and sometimes being far apart in their views, creating in the council a healthy and fair climate for social debate. This means that these comrades had high regard for the meeting of the General Council of the Front. They were prepared ahead of time. They consulted people and conveyed their opinions, the opinions of the masses which they represent. The discussion, speech and opinion of an elected official show how democratic the comrade is, how closely he or she is linked to the masses and to life and how political he or she is. [passage omitted]

We are living in times when, more than ever, there is need for a general social, political, and ideological culture; there is need for respect for the individual, for speech, and for opinions. And even the discussion must be different; it must be cultured, mature, full of content and tolerance! We have embarked on the road of deep democratization and, naturally, we will learn and we will discuss and we will tolerate. This is culture, but it is a necessity.

Turkey's State Minister Continues Official Visit

Meets With President Alia

TA0901161391 Ankara Domestic Service
in Turkish 1100 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Iskender Dimli report from Tirana; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Albanian President Ramiz Alia today received State Minister Isin Celebi, currently in Tirana for talks on economic cooperation between the two countries.

Iskender Dimli reports from Tirana: In a statement during the meeting, Alia expressed his conviction that the friendly relations existing between the two countries will be further promoted from now on. Noting that Albania and Turkey have common cultural, economic, and social interests, he said that this visit has helped strengthen the existing friendly relations between the two countries.

Recalling that he had had constructive talks with [Turkish] President Turgut Ozal during a meeting in New York, Alia called on Celebi to communicate his best wishes to the president.

In turn, Celebi conveyed to Alia President Ozal's message of best wishes. Explaining that significant talks that will improve bilateral relations are being held in Tirana, Celebi reiterated that this is only the beginning and more will come in the future.

Celebi noted that the democratization being undertaken in Albania under the leadership of President Alia is being viewed with sympathy and respect all over the world. He continued: To extend help in the face of difficulties is the essence of friendship and brotherhood. You can trust us on this matter.

Celebi will visit some tourist sites in Albania this afternoon. The Turkish-Albanian economic cooperation talks will end tomorrow.

Meets With Carcani 8 Jan

AU0901215391 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Tirana, January 9 (ATA)—The chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, received the Turkish Government economic delegation headed by the minister of state, Isin Celebi, at the seat of the Council of Ministers on January 8, afternoon.

Present at the reception were the minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Committee for Economic Cooperation With Foreign Countries, Farudin Hoxha; the secretary general of the Council of Ministers, Fatos Nano; and the deputy minister of foreign affairs Muhamet Kapllani. Present were also Albania's ambassador in Ankara, Nesip Kaci, and Turkey's ambassador in Tirana, Teoman Surenkoc.

Comrade Adil Carcani had a warm and cordial talk with the guests from Turkey. After pointing to the close and traditional friendship binding our two peoples and countries, to their common traditions and customs, he stressed that the intensification of political contacts and visits of senior personalities, testify to the will of both governments to further promote friendship and cooperation in mutually beneficial domains. The Albanian-Turkish friendly relations are at the same time a contribution to the peace and stability in the Balkan region.

The Albanian people, he said, pursue attentively Turkey's achievements, which during the recent years has been characterized by all-round stability and development and rejoice sincerely over them.

In continuation, speaking of the situation in Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani spoke of the process of democratization and reforms launched in the political, economic, sociocultural fields, etc., which are closely linked both with the internal conditions and the international ones.

These reforms create favourable conditions and give a further impulse to the economic financial relations between the two countries. Likewise, he spoke of the work carried out to create sound basis for the juridical state, the improvement of legislation, passing special decrees regarding foreign investments in Albania, the receiving of credits, or ensuring foreign capitals.

Comrade Adil Carcani voiced the desire of the Albanian Government to extend the economic cooperation between the two countries as well as the conviction that this visit of the Turkish Government economic delegation will contribute in this respect.

Further on he dwelt on some aspects of the foreign policy of the Albanian state, which aims at preserving freedom, independence and sovereignty of our people.

On his part, the Turkish minister of state, Isin Celebi, after thanking for the warm reception, said among others that we have come to Albania in the light of the talk of the President Ramiz Alia with the President Turgut Ozal in their meeting in New York and of the successful visit that you Mister Prime Minister made to our country. Turkey, he said, devotes a special importance to the relations with Albania. He appreciated the process of democratisation carried out in our country and voiced his belief that during this visit and in the future concrete results will be attained, which will lead to the further strengthening of the friendship between our two peoples and countries, a friendship deeply rooted in history.

Malile, Carcani Address Reporters

TA0901200691 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 1800 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile spoke to Turkish journalists currently in Tirana. He said that Albania wants to play a constructive role in overcoming the existing difficulties in the Balkans. He stressed that the political and social problems have started on a positive course in the Balkans, though that is not true about the economic problems.

Adil Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, also received the Turkish journalists in Tirana. He said he hopes the talks being held with Turkey in Tirana will end successfully. He pointed out that the recent contacts held between the two countries at various levels greatly help strengthen the spirit of cooperation. Among those contacts, he said, we can count my visit to Turkey and the meeting between Ramiz Alia and Turgut Ozal in New York.

Carcani said that it would be a pleasure to welcome President Turgut Ozal and Prime Minister Yildirim Akbulut to Albania.

Border Crossing With SFRY Opened in Tropoje

*AU0901210091 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Ilir Bucpapaj report—live or recorded]

[Text] A new customs point has recently opened at Qafe e Prushit in Tropoje District for the crossing of citizens from the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to Yugoslavia, and vice versa, from Yugoslavia to our country. This new customs point eases the crossing of people mainly from the Plain of Dukagjin in the province of Kosovo, and shortens the journey of visitors who come to this district by 60 kilometers in comparison with the nearest other border crossing. Also, journeys have been made easier for people who come from Yugoslavia in their cars during winter when the mountain road is often blocked by snow at Qafe e Malit and elsewhere. The journey has been made more comfortable and safer with the use of the Dardania ferry on Lake Koman, which travels twice a day with the following timetable: The departure from Fierze for Koman is at 0700, arriving at 0900. The ferry departs from Koman at 1000 and arrives at Fierze at 1200. There is a further departure from

Fierze at 1230, and the ferry departs from Koman on its return journey at 1430. The states on both sides of the Qafe e Prushit border point have taken full technical and organizational measures.

Italian Prime Minister Plans To Visit

*AU0901213291 Tirana Domestic Service
in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Text] Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti held a meeting yesterday with Dashnor Dervishi, Albanian ambassador to Rome. During the meeting, which took place in a friendly atmosphere, Prime Minister Andreotti assessed positively the processes of the democratization of life in Albania and Albania's constructive policy in its relations with its neighbors. Both parties also assessed the traditionally friendly relations between Italy and Albania and expressed the desire to lift them to a new and higher level. In this context, Italian Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti emphasized that after the 10 February elections, along with the exchange of visits between foreign ministers of both countries, he would come with pleasure to Tirana for a friendly visit.

Iraqi Deputy Foreign Minister Arrives for Talks

AU1001144791 Sofia BTA in English 1437 GMT
10 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Iraqi Deputy Foreign Minister Sa'ad Faysal, who is touring some East European countries, arrived in Bulgaria at the request of Iraq. Today he started talks with Bulgarian Deputy Foreign Minister Filip Ishpekov [formerly ambassador to Libya].

Official Against Arms Buildup in Turkey, Greece

AU0901194191 Sofia BTA in English 1925 GMT
9 Jan 91

["Bulgaria Will Seek Explanation on Reported Neighbors' Arms Buildup"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 7 (BTA)—Bulgaria will invoke its right under the annex to the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and will seek information from Turkey and Greece on the reports of a forthcoming delivery of conventional forces "surpluses" to those countries from their NATO allies.

Colonel Chavdar Chervenkov, chief of the Disarmament Inspectorate with the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, told the BTA about this intention when approached today for comment on the reports of Greek mass media.

The plans to supply large amounts of tanks, infantry combat vehicles and various artillery systems to the Armed Forces of Turkey and Greece on the part of the United States, Germany, Holland and Italy runs counter to the letter and the spirit of the CFE Treaty, according to Colonel Chervenkov. He described as "paradoxical" the possibility of using the treaty as a pretext for over-armament of certain countries.

The Bulgarian defense expert said that no party to the CFE Treaty has the right to transfer armaments to any place. These forces are declared as deployed in central Europe and should stay there until their elimination, as provided by the treaty. The commitments assumed should be honored in good faith, the colonel stressed. He described as "unacceptable" the idea to take advantage of the CFE Treaty to modernize the military capability of any state, even if this modernization is conducted within the respective force ceilings set in Vienna and Paris.

In conclusion, Colonel Chervenkov stressed Bulgaria's desire to build its national security on the basis of a strict observance of the Vienna and the Paris accords, of a reorganization of its Army in compliance with these accords and of a promotion of Balkan goodneighborliness and cooperation.

Fuel Oil Tankers Arrive From Soviet Union

AU1001125391 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1000 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] We have already reported that the Bulgarian tanker Struma arrived in the port of Burgas today from Novorossiysk with a cargo of 66,000 tonnes of petroleum. Our correspondent Georgi Sreshtnikov reports that the tanker Osum will arrive in Burgas around lunchtime today with 20,000 tonnes of heavy fuel oil. The information was provided by duty officer Veselin Ivanov at the Bulgarian Merchant Marine offices in Varna.

Today the Agrobiokhim Company in Stara Zagora suspended production of methyl methacrylate. The forced shutdown of the caprolactam production facility continues. As our correspondent Nayden Rangelov reports, the reason for the shutdown of production of these basic products is the lack of raw materials, which are supplied by the Burgas Petrochemical Combine.

The chemical workers at Stara Zagora continue to produce another basic product—ammonium nitrate, but at two-thirds capacity. The supplies of polyethylene bags from the Agrobiokhim enterprise in Asenovgrad are insufficient to pack all the products which, apart from satisfying domestic agricultural needs, are also exported to other countries. This disruption in the rhythm of production, which is not the fault of the Agrobiokhim Company, is also affecting the production activities of a number of enterprises and companies throughout the country which use and rely on these basic products.

Vietnamese Workers To Leave by 1992

AU1001130891 Sofia BTA in English 1144 GMT
10 Jan 91

["The Problem of Vietnamese Workers in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Bulgaria and Vietnam have reached agreement on the repatriation of all Vietnamese workers by 1992. Both countries would like to speed up their scheduled departure. Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials told the press at a briefing that there are financial and transport problems. Twenty charter flights to Vietnam scheduled for January were canceled due to the Gulf crisis and the resulting changes in air routes. Still, efforts will be made to send 10,000 Vietnamese home by the end of 1991 and the remaining 2,000-2,500 in 1992.

A high-ranking ministry official pointed out that Bulgaria would like to maintain its traditionally friendly relations with Vietnam. "The fact that some Vietnamese nationals break the law and the measures taken against them should not cast a shadow on our relations," he said. In 1989, 300 Vietnamese were convicted in Sofia alone for smuggling and black marketeering. More proceedings are underway. Crimes committed by Vietnamese were

recorded in 1990 as well. There is also evidence of their involvement in organized crime.

The Vietnamese have no right to remit home their earnings in Bulgaria. They can take out of the country goods for personal or family use valued at half of their income. With the current economic crisis and acute consumer goods shortages, this arrangement creates conditions for black marketeering.

A representative of the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare said that over 2,000 Vietnamese have already lost their jobs but receive unemployment benefit on a par with the Bulgarian citizens. Under Bulgarian law, the wages of migrant workers are also indexed for inflation.

Ethiopian Vice President Meets Popov, Todorov

AU0901205891 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Bulgaria will honor all agreements which the previous government has signed with Ethiopia, the Prime Minister Mr. Dimitur Popov told Ethiopia's Vice President Mr. Fisseha Desta who is on a visit here.

Mr. Popov ruled out the possibility to reschedule some of Ethiopia's payments because Bulgaria is also running into serious difficulties.

It was suggested that Ethiopia repay its debt in farm and other goods, apart from hard currency. The Bulgarian Government will encourage national companies to cooperate with foreign companies, Ethiopian ones included.

Ethiopia's vice president suggested that conditions may be created to sign a package of contracts between Bulgarian and Ethiopian companies and between the two governments in Addis Ababa in later February.

Today Mr. Fisseha Desta was received by the chairman of the Grand National Assembly Academician Nikolay Todorov.

Grand National Assembly Proceedings Continue

Former Defense Minister Resigns

AU0901193091 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT
9 Jan 91

["Another Zhivkov Old Timer Leaves Parliament"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—General Dobri Dzhurov, 75, one of the irreplaceable communist leaders under Todor Zhivkov, resigned from parliament. The faction of his Bulgarian Socialist Party granted his request to be relieved of his MP [member of parliament] responsibilities. The announcement of Mr. Dzhurov's resignation was greeted with applause in parliament today. He has

attended all sittings without taking the floor. The Grand National Assembly voted to relieve Mr. Dzhurov of his MP duties.

General Dobri Dzhurov's nearly 30 years in office as minister of national defense included the time when Bulgarian troops joined the Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. When a reporter recently asked him "who is to blame for that?" he answered, "it was inevitable at that time."

Mr. Dzhurov was member of the Communist Party senior leadership, and former party chief Todor Zhivkov praised him some years ago as "its staunch fighter and architect." During the anti-fascist resistance Mr. Dzhurov was member of the same partisan unit as Mr. Zhivkov, and after the communist seizure of power he worked at the Interior Ministry. He has been educated in Soviet military academies.

A recent feature in the opposition press raised Mr. Dzhurov's role in the ethnic Turks' forced assimilation campaign and his silence at the time of the Chernobyl disaster. An accompanying caricature shows Mr. Dzhurov as saying, "I fought actively against capitalism and I do feel I am still strong enough to restore it."

Rumor has it that Mr. Dzhurov was among the people who made possible the overthrow of Todor Zhivkov on November 10, 1989.

Before Mr. Dzhurov, another communist veteran gave up his parliamentary seat: Mr. Stanko Todorov, a long-serving member of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leadership and a prime minister under the Zhivkov regime.

Foreign Travel Passports Law Amended

AU0901200491 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT
9 Jan 91

["Foreign Travel Passports Act Liberalized"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Today parliament passed an amendment to the Foreign Travel Passports Act dropping the exit visa requirement and discarding two of the reasonable grounds to deny the granting of a foreign travel passport: the protection of public order and public morals.

The amendment was moved by the Standing Committee on the Protection of Human Rights and the National Issue. In its reasoning the committee points out that the law in its present form does not specify the concepts of public order and public morals and this created prerequisites for the violation of human rights.

The Foreign Travel Passports Act was adopted in 1989. It relaxed foreign travel regulations. Apart from a valid passport, people travelling abroad were so far required to hold an exit visa which was available against an extra charge.

With the enactment of today's legislation the only reasonable grounds to turn down a passport application will be the protection of national security, public health and the rights and freedoms of others.

Vulchev Elected National Bank Chairman

AU0901210991 Sofia BTA in English 2031 GMT
9 Jan 91

["Prof. Todor Vulchev Is the New National Bank Governor"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Professor Todor Vulchev, 68, independent, is the new president of the National Bank of Bulgaria. Parliament elected him by a majority today.

Parliament relieved the Socialist Mr. Ivan Dragnevski of this post. So far the National Bank governor was appointed by the government.

Professor Vulchev was endorsed by MP's [member of parliament] of both the Union of Democratic Forces and of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. He enjoys the confidence of the financial and business community. When Mr. Dimitur Popov's cabinet was being composed, Professor Vulchev was mentioned almost to the last moment as a possible deputy prime minister.

Professor Vulchev is an economist. He has worked for over thirty years in the Institute of Economics with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He is also popular for his numerous publications in the press and for his part in radio and TV business programs.

Addressing parliament, Professor Vulchev said he believed that the National Bank of Bulgaria should be an independent national institution which will support the government's economic policy. Listing the bank's principal tasks to stabilize the money circulation, to secure the smoothness of the credit process and to guarantee the stability of the national currency.

The National Bank of Bulgaria must be more stable than the government, Professor Petrov [name as received] stressed. He also said that a National Bank bill and a banking bill will soon go before parliament.

Parties Sign Agreement

AU0901095591 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian
4 Jan 91 p 3

["Agreement Between the Political Forces Represented in Parliament on Guaranteeing a Peaceful Transition to Democratic Society," signed in Sofia on 3 January]

[Text] The political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly evaluate the country's current political situation as exceptionally complicated and tense. It is possible to overcome the existing situation through an agreement between the political forces on the basis of

observing the rights and legitimate interests of each side and fully observing and respecting the country's laws.

With this agreement the political forces are declaring their resolve to guarantee the further peaceful transition to a democratic society in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. They confirm that they are unconditionally guided in their activities by the following basic principles:

- Confirmation of political pluralism as a basis of democratic society;
- Participation of the political forces in exercising state power in accordance with the voters' will expressed in the general elections and by other legal means, which is the only source of state power;
- Guarantee and protection of the rights and freedoms of all Bulgarian citizens, regardless of race, sex, political convictions, or affiliation with any language, religious or ethnic group, on the basis of full equality before the law and without discrimination;
- Providing guarantees against any form or manifestation of discrimination, persecution, illegal and forcible actions for political activities, affiliations, or convictions.

In accordance with the aforementioned guarantees and in acknowledging the political and legal necessity of guaranteeing the irreversible nature of the democratic changes, in fully observing the Constitution and the country's laws, the political forces are guaranteeing and committing themselves to the Bulgarian people and to the international community to do everything within their power in order to guarantee as follows:

Concerning Parliament

The Grand National Assembly is the only nationwide, representative organ elected on the basis of the Bulgarian people's freely expressed will.

All contradictions connected with the peaceful transition to democratic society are to be solved on the basis of the law and through the institution of parliamentary democracy. All illegal attempts against state organs are to be prosecuted and punished on the basis of the country's laws. The state organs and the judicial organs are acting within the framework of their competences accorded by the laws and the Constitution.

The work of the Grand National Assembly should be improved through a legislative program that should play a major role in its activities. All other questions related to administrative and executive matters should be placed within the competence of the Grand National Assembly's control functions only in exceptional cases.

The legislative activities of the Grand National Assembly should be focused on the drafting and adoption of the following acts:

—The Constitution, the laws on agricultural land, local government, administrative-territorial organization, election of local government organs (election law), and the law on privatization.

The legislative program should include the following bills:

I. By the End of 1990

The Following Bills Are To Be Drafted and Submitted to the Plenary Session of the Grand National Assembly for Adoption:

1. Bill on amnesty.
2. Bill on amendments and addenda to the Penal Code.
3. Bill on amendments to the Pension Law.
4. Bill on agricultural land.
5. Bill on local government and administrative-territorial organization; bill on election of local government organs; bill on election of local government organs (Election Law).
6. Bill on amendments and addenda to the Public Health Law;
7. Decision on the leadership and activities of Bulgarian Television and Bulgarian Radio.

II. Parliament Activities in January 1991

The Following Bills Are To Be Drafted and Submitted to the Plenary Session of the Grand National Assembly:

1. Bill on the sale, privatization, and transformation of state and municipal enterprises.
2. Bill on the state budget.
3. Bill on national security and on the police.
4. Bill on the National Bank.
5. Bill on the banking and credit departments.
6. Bill on taxation.
7. Bill on protection of competition and demonopolization.
8. Bill on foreign investments.
9. Bill on the chamber of accounts.

Separate drafts on the country's new constitution should be submitted by 20 February 1991.

III. Parliament Activities in February 1991

1. Submitting the draft constitution of the Republic of Bulgaria.
2. Bill on pensions and social security.

3. Bill on trade activities.
4. Bill on amendments and addenda to the Labor Code.
5. Bill on civil servants.
6. Bill on environment protection.

IV. Parliament Activities in March 1991

1. Adoption of the constitution.
2. Passing the election law.

To effectively implement the above program on schedule the political forces signing the agreement undertake to render full and wholehearted support to parliament in its work. With regard to the bills submitted to parliament, the political forces should strive for parliamentary consensus.

In accordance with the program for legislative priority, the elections for local government organs should take place in February-March 1991, and general elections should take place no later than May 1991.

So that the legislative timetable may be implemented, a consultative group in charge of the agenda and of current questions concerning the work of parliament should be set up with the participation of representatives from the Grand National Assembly parliamentary groups. The representatives of the groups should propose within no more than 7 days the measures needed to ensure the financial, technical, consultative, and material conditions needed to guarantee the efficient work of parliament.

In order to improve the effectiveness of parliamentary activities the necessary organizational measures should be ensured in accordance with the appendix to this agreement.

Concerning the Government

A national government for a peaceful transition to democracy is being formed. Its main task is to act to create the administrative and institutional foundations of a market economy and the organization of a democratic state for the purpose of overcoming the totalitarian system.

The government's term of office is limited to the election of a new parliament by parliamentary elections.

The political forces signing this agreement undertake to render full and active support to the government in its work within parliament and outside it, as long as the government observes the law and copes with the tasks entrusted to it. They undertake to oppose all attempts to restrict its functions by unlawful, extraparlimentary means. The main trends in the government's work are as follows:

a) to prepare and submit bills and regulations on institutional changes in accordance with the Grand National Assembly's legislative timetable;

b) to ensure public order and peace in the country;

c) to prepare the elections for the organs of local and central state power;

d) to implement measures to ensure the population's basic needs and the maintenance of the vitally important economic spheres during the 1990-91 winter season;

e) to adopt the first steps to bring about the stabilization of domestic and foreign economic relations, by reorienting priorities in economic policy, overcoming the deficit in the current balance of payments for 1991, reducing the imbalance in the money and commodity market, halting and controlling inflation, and curbing the fall in production;

f) to promptly initiate a comprehensive reform of the economic system, including a change in economic relations along with the stabilization measures; to draft and submit the necessary economic bills to the Grand National Assembly and to guarantee the establishment of a social market economy;

g) to promote a policy of protecting the socially weak groups of the population, to adopt measures against unemployment, and actively to participate in the dialogue with the trade unions and the National Union of Economic Managers;

h) to guarantee, without discrimination, the rights and freedoms of the Bulgarian citizen based on equality before the law, regardless of political conviction or affiliation, and regardless of affiliation with any language or religious or ethnic group.

The leader of the government should be a neutral figure not affiliated with any particular political force, but relying on the firm support of the political forces represented in parliament. The composition of the government is determined on the basis of consensus among the political forces in the course of consultations conducted with the candidate for the post of prime minister.

Candidacies for the members of government are presented by the major political forces. The ministerial posts in the field of the economy and finances, defense, internal affairs, foreign affairs, foreign economic relations, and domestic trade are distributed on a parity basis between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the opposition.

Concerning the Provisional Executive Committees and Provisional Administrations

The political forces state that all their representatives appointed to the provisional leaderships of the oblasts, municipalities, and townships should promptly take over the functions entrusted to them. These organs are in

charge of important tasks related to the problems of the local population and the preparation of forthcoming local elections.

Concerning the Political Forces

The political forces confirm their resolve to devote all their activities in parliament and outside it to safeguarding, above all, the norms of civic society which unconditionally guarantee the human rights of all citizens in the Republic of Bulgaria.

Concerning Guarantees Against the Persecution of Individuals and Organizations

The political forces undertake to contribute on a priority basis to the adoption of a law on amending the Penal Code in connection with preventing the persecution of the individual and his family or close relatives for their political affiliation or convictions. All legal guarantees must be provided for prosecuting and punishing all acts of discrimination of individual citizens (and their families, or close relatives) for their social origins, political affiliation, or ideological convictions and acts likely to prevent them from exercising their legitimate right to engage in economic, social, cultural and civil activities, including appointment to state positions. The only criteria and arguments for the appointment of citizens to such positions should be their ability and professional qualifications. These criteria should be included in the new legislation on civil servants.

The political forces undertake not to permit in their parliamentary activities the adoption of discriminatory legal acts that ban political parties and social organizations from exercising their functions in accordance with the law and the constitution. The political forces should declare their readiness to abstain from and oppose all forms of inciting, propaganda, and appeals, or actions aimed at banning or persecuting a political party that is acting in accordance with the country's constitution and law.

Concerning Responsibility

The BSP, as the successor of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] assumes political responsibility for the country's government for the last decades.

The question of personal responsibility can be resolved only in accordance with the country's laws, following established legal procedures, by the competent law-dispensing organs while their full independence is guaranteed. In this connection the political forces appeal to the Prosecutor's Office to accelerate the adoption of the relevant measures in strict accordance with the law.

The political forces shall assist the parliamentary commissions to establish the causes of the economic and political crisis in the country, adopting procedures that will guarantee the obligatory submission of all materials and facts and relevant statements by persons needed for the activities of the parliamentary commissions, so that

they may complete their work by the end of March 1991. Information about people who have admitted breaches of the law should be submitted by the enquiry commission to the competent law-dispensing organs for examination and establishment of the relevant penal, administrative, financial, and other responsibility.

Concerning Property

All parties, coalitions, sociopolitical organizations, (youth organizations included), trade unions, and companies belonging to them, are expected to submit detailed reports on their property and on how it was acquired between 31 December 1989 and 31 December 1990. They must also account for their incomes (in domestic and foreign currency, and kind) and on their 1990 expenditures. Property acquired on the basis of state subsidies, obtained free of charge, or on the basis of compulsory confiscation to the advantage of parties, coalitions, trade unions, and organizations (with the exception of subsidies granted for the elections in June 1990), should be restored to the state, with the exception of means required for the minimum needs of the organizations in question which has been agreed upon between them in accordance with the added lists that should be submitted within a 14-day deadline. The agreement on property should be submitted to the Grand National Assembly for adoption and be enforced as of the date of the parliament's decision. Real estate that is not included in the agreement should be restored to the state within two months following the enforcement of the aforementioned agreement. All deals concerning the real estate of political parties, coalitions, sociopolitical, and trade union organizations that were concluded after 10 November 1989 should be submitted to the Control Commission on Parties' Revenues, Expenditures, and Properties of the Grand National Assembly.

Parties, other sociopolitical organizations, and trade unions whose properties have been illegally or forcibly expropriated should submit their requests for restoration of their material losses to the Legislative Commission, the Commission on Control Over the Revenues, Expenditures, and Properties of Parties under the Grand National Assembly and the relevant judicial organs.

The trade unions should submit full information on the manner in which they acquired their property. The trade unions and the relevant state organs should submit data to show the share of the state budget and the trade union budgets in financing, building and administering the property owned or used by the trade unions.

In connection with the legalization of the property and the right to administer property used by the trade unions, the decisions of the commission on property under the Grand National Assembly should be taken into consideration in cases in which the information provided is not sufficient to clarify the source of the funds used to acquire the property in question and the identity of the owner [subekta na sobstvenosta].

It is proposed to the Prosecutor's Office that it check on the sources of the funds for the establishment of companies within the country, and if possible, also for the establishment of companies abroad set up with the participation of former and present members of high-ranking state, party, economic, and trade union organs.

Concerning Archives

The Law on State Archives and the code of regulations for its application should be complemented and amended by expanding their scope. Items related to the storage and use of archive documents belonging to political parties should be included in the following order:

- Documents containing information on the activities of state organs and organizations for the period prior to 10 November 1989 should be available to consumers without restriction, in accordance with the Law on State Archives and on the basis of the code of regulations for its application.
- With the permission of the respective party organ documents containing information on strictly party matters, such as party membership, (documentary collections of personal files on individual party matters, files on punished members, files on matters concerning party cadres, or acts of the control-auditing commissions), documents concerning the structure of party organs and organizations, relations with foreign parties, and so forth, should be available for use by consumers with the permission of the relevant party organ.
- Documents with mixed contents should be submitted to the relevant expert commissions charged with preparing a report on the way they should be kept and used.

An expert commission composed of representatives of the Main Archives Administration and the relevant party and departmental archives should be established and placed in charge of preparing a document on the implementation of the aforementioned decisions within a month.

Concerning Public Order

The political forces assume the obligation to guarantee a voluntary moratorium on mass open-air political actions throughout the first month of the government's term of office and appeal to the other political and social organizations to do likewise.

The political forces believe that it is unacceptable to involve children and under-age young people in political activities, strikes, and other actions that are against the law.

In accordance with the order established in the Law on Political Parties, it is necessary to adopt measures to ban all political activities from the workplace, which also

applies to activities initiated by trade union organizations. Trade union and other social organizations that engage in political activities must register as political parties (or their activities will be suspended).

All efforts of political organizations to exert pressure on administrative leaders and economic managers in their work should be banned and are subject to sanctions. At the same time the political forces urge that arbitrary actions (such as illegal dismissals, persecution, or similar repressive measures) should not be applied against people for participating in trade union activities and other mass manifestations.

It is necessary that in the future all unlawful acts be punished by the competent organs. This includes sit-ins, blocking of traffic, illegal strikes, and so forth.

The political forces declare their readiness to support the competent organs in maintaining the law, which is necessary for safeguarding public and legal order, and the health, rights and freedoms of the citizens.

All attempts by political parties, organizations, and movements to exert pressure on and to involve people who are serving in the Armed Forces, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the Prosecutor's Office should be banned. No organized political activities of employees under the cover of various nonpolitical organizations should be allowed in the aforementioned state organs.

Unlawful disclosure and publication of information concerning the country's security—especially information stemming from the Ministry of Internal Affairs—is banned and those who engage in such actions are subject to legal action.

The Commission on National Security under the Grand National Assembly is urged to review the status and actions of the national security organs and prepare proposals for expedient changes to be included in the new legislation on national security.

Concerning Social Conflicts

The political forces and trade unions confirm the need to implement radical economic reform.

The political forces undertake to abstain from organizing, supporting, or calling for public actions (such as rallies, meetings, demonstrations, strikes, and the like) that are against the law or interfere with the rights and freedoms of other citizens, and from actions threatening to paralyze the country's basic economic spheres. The political forces undertake to use all methods and means available to them to oppose all efforts involving such actions.

The trade union undertake to abstain from effective strikes in branches and enterprises that are of vital importance for the normal functioning of the national economy during the period preceding the adoption of the new Constitution. The solution of trade union conflicts

should be sought on the basis of social partnership within the framework of the tripartite system of settling labor disputes.

Concerning Policy on Nationality Questions

The political forces consider that the process of democratization and of asserting humanitarian principles in our society, and the integration with the nations of Europe require the following actions:

- a) the drafting of a concept on the nationality question and on a respective sovereign, sensible, lasting, consistent, and pragmatic state policy unaffected by changes of government;
- b) correction of the mistakes of the inconsistent and erroneous policy and committed in connection with the nationality question over the past decades;
- c) a political consensus of political forces on the need for a legislative solution of all nationality policy aspects, unaffected by partisanship and narrow-minded party opportunism.
- d) acknowledgment of political, ethnic, and religious pluralism for all citizens, guaranteed by democratic legal institutions;
- e) implementation of the commitments in international treaties and agreements concerning human rights which Bulgaria has assumed over the past years, as long as they do not interfere with the interests of our national security, public order, moral standards, and the citizens' health;
- f) the guaranteeing of Bulgaria's national security, territorial integrity, and sovereignty as a single-nation and indivisible state;
- g) a ban on propaganda and political activities aimed at autonomy on a religious or ethnic basis or any other forms of territorial separation and the arousing of nationalist, chauvinist, and extremist passions;
- h) in applying legislation and administrative instructions the authorities should keep in mind Item 10 of the Grand National Assembly Declaration adopted on 16 January 1990;
- i) a ban on exerting any pressure whatsoever on citizens with regard to their self-determination in a religious or ethnic community. The Parliamentary Commission on Human Rights and the Nationality Issue should, within a month, express its opinion on cases in which religious affiliation is taken advantage of in order to exert such pressure;
- j) consistent efforts to achieve economic, social, and intellectual prosperity in areas of strategic importance for our national unity with a view to achieving fully equal rights and opportunities of all citizens.

Concerning Television and Radio

The political parties agree that by 21 December 1990 the parliamentary Commission on Television and Radio should submit to the plenary session of the Grand National Assembly a provisional draft statute on the work of Bulgarian Television and Radio:

—By 10 January 1991 the commission should discuss and propose to the Grand National Assembly acceptable candidates for chairmen of the Bulgarian Television and Radio.

By 10 January 1991 the commission should discuss and submit to the Grand National Assembly a bill on Bulgarian Television and Radio.

The political forces agree to halt political activities within Bulgarian Television and Radio in accordance with the decisions of the national roundtable and the Law on Political Parties in Bulgaria.

Appendix:

The timetable of the Grand National Assembly plenary sessions should be distributed in advance in accordance with the agenda.

The agenda of the parliament's plenary sessions should be specified in advance, while no procedural questions on amendments to the agenda should be allowed.

Parliamentary discipline should be strictly observed in discussing bills at plenary sessions, while the floor should be given to speakers proposed by the parliamentary groups.

The parliamentary commissions should draft a timetable for their work.

Working groups in charge of dealing with the bills set down in the legislative timetable should be formed and they should be granted all the financial, technical, and organizational facilities they need to work efficiently.

The agreement was signed by the following leaders of political forces represented in the Grand National Assembly:

Lyubomir Ivanov—for the Green Party; Aleksandur Lilov—the BSP; Ahmed Dogan—the Movement for Rights and Freedoms; Viktor Vulkov—the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]; Ginyo Ganev—the Fatherland Union; Dimitur Arnaudov—the Fatherland Party of Labor; Elka Konstantinova—the Radical Democratic Party; Milan Drenchev—the Nikola Petkov BZNS; Petko Simeonov—the Federation of Glasnost and Democracy Clubs; Petur Dertliev—the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party; Petur Slabakov—the Independent "Ecoglasnost" Movement; Stefan Savov—the Democratic Party; Stoyan Ganev—the United Democratic Center; Filip Dimitrov—the SDS; Yanko Yankov—the Non-Marxist Social Democratic Party.

Svetoslav Stavrev joined the agreement on behalf of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria.

ASO Leader Warns Against BSP 'Dinosaurs'

AU1001105891 Sofia BTA in English 0833 GMT
10 Jan 91

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The Alternative Socialist Organisation (ASO), an inner-party opposition in the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], warned that the "dinosaurs" in the Socialist Party are finding their feet and that the public might be misled by the declaration about the BSP's guilt for the present state of the country. Mr. Valentin Vatshev, the leader of the organization, told representatives of ASO clubs in Sofia yesterday that the declaration tried to shift the responsibility from the nomenklatura to the entire party.

He made it clear that reformers in the Socialist Party are "phonies" and some of them have been using their radicalism merely as a spring-board. According to him, genuine reformers have been systematically removed from the party's leadership and barred from public activism.

ASO finds the conditions in the country alarming. It believes that the Lukanov cabinet deserved its collapse but rejects the methods by which it was brought down: street power, Bolshevik ways and means and by inciting shady characters.

ASO says the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) should disband itself so that its member parties regain their political identity and normal political life start in the country.

BSP Leaders Believe Government Will Survive

AU0901151091 Sofia BTA in English 1436 GMT
9 Jan 91

["Socialists Seek Cooperation of Opposition"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Top functionaries of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] today reaffirmed the positive view they take of the agreement signed by the major political forces and of their joint work with the opposition in the government. "What matters most is to work together," Mr. Aleksandur Lilov, chairman of the BSP, told a news conference here.

Mr. Lilov believes that the new government will endure despite the up to eight-times price increases for staple foods which will be allegedly introduced according to a report carried today in the BSP daily. Mr. Aleksandur Tomov, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party and deputy prime minister, did not deny the report about the new prices but only said that the government had not considered the matter because the prices will be set by the market.

On the oil deliveries from the Soviet Union Mr. Aleksandur Tomov dissociated himself from the claims laid to the USSR [as received] in the press. Mr. Tomov and Mr. Lilov believe that the agreement signed on oil deliveries from the USSR in 1991, which they see as a success, is due, among other things, to the Socialists' staying in power. Moreover, they added that the West, too, advises Bulgaria against breaking with the USSR and against the disbandment of the CMEA.

Mr. Aleksandur Tomov said that the declaration on the BSP responsibility for the current condition of Bulgaria will be published soon. He said the declaration will quote abundant facts.

Popov: 30-Percent Decline in Living Standard

*AU0901211191 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT
9 Jan 91*

["Prime Minister Warns About Economic Hardship"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Bulgarians' living standards will decline 30 percent as a result of the price hikes, said the Prime Minister Mr. Dimitur Popov. He confirmed to the press today that the price increase is inevitable as a must of the economic reform and one of the terms laid by the International Monetary Fund.

The prime minister said he would unveil his program in the coming days. He will submit to parliament a government statement listing its priorities in the coming seven months. The government is working on a social safety net, on relaxing foreign exchange controls, on decentralizing distributive trade and on the reform of industry.

Industrial Production Declines; Inflation Soars

*AU0901211691 Sofia BTA in English 2034 GMT
9 Jan 91*

["Production Drops, Inflation Soars in Bulgaria"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—Industrial production in Bulgaria dropped 10.7 percent from 1989 due to the raw materials shortage, infrastructure breaks and shrinkage of traditional markets, says an announcement of the Central Statistical Board on the country's economic performance in 1990.

The most tangible slump has affected mechanical engineering, ferrous metallurgy, metal-working, the chemical and the food industry. Oil processing has dropped a dramatic 41.5 percent from its 1989 level due to the cutback of Soviet oil deliveries and the suspension of shipments from Iraq after Bulgaria joined the UN Security Council trade embargo.

The production of plastics and synthetic resin dropped 27 percent, of soap and detergents 26.9 percent, of

hoisting and hauling devices 20 percent, of machine-tools and forging presses 19.3 percent, of cast-iron, steel and rolled iron by 28.4 percent. The fishing industry was down 37.6 percent and the sugar industry 32.7 percent.

Eleven percent more investment remained unutilized in construction, as a result the dwellings built were 45 percent less than in 1989.

The crisis was also evident in the poorer performance of transport due to the shortage of cargo and the lack of fuel.

The retail turnover has increased only because of the price rises. Prices soared 50.6 percent in the second half of the year alone. These statistics confirm the expected inflationary spiral, which is all the more alarming because for the time being no conditions and mechanisms for its control are available, the Central Statistical Board says.

Agriculture declined, too, producing 2.7 percent less meat, 1.4 percent less milk, 3.5 percent less eggs and 3.9 percent less wool than in 1989.

A number of production units started the new year with uncertain schedules due to the scarcity of fuel and raw materials and unnegotiated supply of spares and feedstock as well as unsigned end product marketing contracts. That is why the enterprises avoid predicting the expected output in January 1991, the Central Statistical Board concludes.

Government Refutes DUMA Economic Report

*AU0901150691 Sofia BTA in English 1433 GMT
9 Jan 91*

["Government Says Socialists' Paper Report Is Unfair"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—In an express announcement, the government described as "unfair" the report which appeared in today's issue of the Socialists' "DUMA" newspaper under the headline "Popov's Government Contemplates Steeper Price Rises Than Lukanov Ex-Cabinet."

The Council of Ministers Press Centre release makes it clear that the unsigned feature, which shocked the public by quoting exorbitant prices of prime necessities, does not correspond to the truth.

"In a bewildering way the report draws a comparison between prices allegedly suggested by the former government of Andrey Lukanov and by the incumbent government," says the press release of Mr. Popov's cabinet.

The government announces that it will control the prices of vital goods. It is considering the price issue together with the trade unions and will provide for compensation, especially to the socially disadvantaged.

Dienstbier Discusses Middle East, European Policy

AU0901094091 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY
in Czech 4 Jan 91 p 7

[Interview with Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and foreign minister, by Jaroslav Jiru; place and date not given: "We Are Entering a Dramatic Period"]

[Text] [Jiru] A few days ago you returned from Cairo where you had taken part in a meeting involving Czechoslovak ambassadors to the Arab countries and Israel. What was the subject of your meeting and what conclusions did you come to?

[Dienstbier] These meetings involve a completely new kind of work; new to us, of course, as it is absolutely normal in the West. We already conducted one such meeting in the summer when, in connection with my visit to Malta, I conferred with our ambassadors to west Mediterranean countries. This time in Cairo I brought together our ambassadors from all the Arab countries and Israel. This is a region in which something is happening. There is a threat of war in the Persian Gulf. Apart from the traditional Arab-Israeli conflict, there are problems with various types of fundamentalism, extremism, and terrorism. This is the largest oil producing region in the world. In other words, so many interests converge in this region that team work is absolutely essential. Strands from all the problems stretch into the rest of the world; this is particularly applicable to the regions where the issues are mutually interlinked. Therefore, such a meeting is—in my opinion—extremely important because all the ambassadors met there with people from Prague who deal with these issues. Economic and political issues concerning the Middle East were discussed there. A plan or program for regular contacts and meetings should be drawn up; what I mean by this is meetings and contacts with our offices in this region. This way ambassadors—for instance, from the Arab peninsula—could meet more often to discuss issues affecting the whole region; they could work together in this.

[Jiru] What were the specific contents of your meeting?

[Dienstbier] We discussed economic issues affecting the region, Czechoslovak economic issues, and Czechoslovakia's ties with this region, in particular as far as the possibilities for supplying our goods to this region are concerned. We discussed what the most important things are for us. We also analyzed the political situation in the individual countries.

[Jiru] How would you characterize the changes in our attitude toward the Arab countries?

[Dienstbier] We want to have universal relations in this region. In past decades Czechoslovakia gave preference to certain countries that were considered to be progressive simply because they were closer to the Soviet Union. Now we view all countries equally and we will have

better or worse relations on the basis of mutual interests—theirs and ours—and also on the basis of these countries' behavior in certain matters. Of course we are aware of the cultural differences and of the need for a different approach to some matters, however, in the end human rights issues are universal and we will view these countries in accordance with how they stand on this. Another aspect of our policy is whether these countries act peacefully in this region or whether they are potential—or even actual—aggressors. As far as Iraq is concerned, we absolutely stand by the Security Council resolution and, in defiance of this aggression, we are symbolically party to the resolution through our small military unit.

[Jiru] What kind of attitude will we now have toward the PLO?

[Dienstbier] I think the same rule applies to the PLO that applies to everyone else. Our attitude toward it will depend on its positive behavior in the Middle East, on its attitude toward Czechoslovakia, and on our interests.

[Jiru] During this meeting, you most certainly discussed the conflict in the Persian Gulf. Following your visit to Cairo, how do you view possible future developments in this region?

[Dienstbier] It is very difficult to reply to this question. I would not like to spread optimism or pessimism. Everyone stresses that they are in favor of a peaceful solution, but this peaceful solution, of course, must be based on Saddam Husayn's withdrawal from Kuwait and on the restoration of the legitimate Kuwaiti Government. If Saddam Husayn does not do this, there must be no reward for his aggression. No one wants a war, but right from the very beginning everything has depended upon the Iraqi leadership's decision.

[Jiru] You also, of course, discussed other issues with Egypt's President Mubarak and with U.S. Secretary of Defense Cheney.

[Dienstbier] I spoke with Cheney for approximately 20 minutes. He had a meeting with President Mubarak after me and then he departed immediately for Washington. He wanted to spend Christmas in Wyoming which is, after all, considerably further away from Cairo than Prague is. We also spoke about some issues connected with European security. An immediate reason for this discussion was Eduard Shevardnadze's resignation. We talked briefly about possible developments in Europe and the Soviet Union.

[Jiru] What about your talks with Egypt's President Husni Mubarak?

[Dienstbier] I mainly discussed the Middle East with him as he is personally very involved in this issue. On the one hand, as a representative of the most important Arab country and, on the other hand, as the man to whom Saddam Husayn told a direct lie when he said that he would not occupy Kuwait. Even President Bush was

criticized for trusting Mubarak and King Husayn, although the CIA had warned him that an attack would take place. President Mubarak insists that Iraq has to withdraw from Kuwait. We also talked about the possibilities for Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations. I handed him a letter from President Havel in which our president briefed him on the situation in Czechoslovakia and on our attitude toward the gulf and Middle East problems, however, he also informed him that he is interested in the development of good relations between Czechoslovakia and Egypt and he invited him to visit our country. We also discussed L-39 aircraft; President Mubarak is a pilot, he was originally an air force general. He knows these aircraft, he has flown in them, and he appreciates them. As a good businessman he merely pointed out that we offer them at a very high price. If they are offered at a sensible price, Egypt will purchase them because they are quality aircraft.

[Jiru] Mr. Minister, we have finished with the old year, and we are beginning a new one. In your opinion, what are the prospects for Czechoslovak foreign policy in the new year and what are its most important tasks?

[Dienstbier] I would say that the prospects for our foreign policy are closely connected with the success of our domestic policy and with the success of our economic reform. Until midway through the year—approximately until September—we were given very great credit, the peaceful progress of fundamental change was effective on all levels, President Havel's authority was respected, and so on.

Certain negative elements began to manifest themselves starting in autumn. These elements were connected with the jurisdiction disputes between the republics and the Federal Government and later with the uncertain atmosphere in Bohemia, in Slovakia, and within Civic Forum [OF]. Therefore, people outside are waiting to see how things will develop and what will happen. This is not good in a situation when we are entering into an absolutely dramatic period in which—during the course of one or two years—we will have to endeavor to establish prerequisites for the Czechoslovak economy's new dynamism. It will be a very tough period in which we will require domestic political unity to achieve the aims of reform—not only economic, but also political—because, during this period, we have to write our constitution. This will require patience, tolerance, mutual understanding, and an effort to achieve the broadest possible consensus on all sides. How successful we are in achieving this will also very much influence the surrounding world's attitude toward us.

I would divide our foreign policy into two basic tasks; I would call one a normalizing task and the other a normal task. First of all, the issue was to normalize our relations with other countries. This, of course, was very difficult, but—in its own way—it was easier because removing the barbed wire and signing agreements on visa-free contacts, preventing double taxation, and protecting and

supporting investments were all part of it. The agreement on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia was, in fact, the most important thing of all. First of all, we had to restore the state's formal sovereignty, we had to obtain the Soviet Union's undertaking to withdraw its troops, and we had to attain the actual beginning of the withdrawal.

Then, there is normal diplomatic policy; this is very meticulous and involves constant work in which our entire foreign policy—not just the ministry, but also the other organs and parliament and even communities, universities, and so on—must create real ties linking us to Europe and the world.

I would be glad if we were already in that period when we will only have to conduct normal diplomatic policy. This period is coming closer, because—in essence—we have already resolved the fundamental issues.

We are now initiating talks on an association agreement with the European Community. This is extraordinarily significant because at the last European Community meeting it was stated that Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary should have an association agreement—shall we say—a new kind of association agreement. These agreements are even called European agreements or superassociation agreements. We hope that it will be possible to draw up these agreements during the first half of the year so that they can be ratified by the EC's appropriate parliaments and so that the agreements can come into effect as of 1 January next year. Of course, this may take longer, but if we managed to achieve this it would be—in short—a huge success. It goes without saying that this is not only a matter for our diplomatic policy, it is also a matter for Czechoslovakia's domestic political development.

The other essential issue is ending the activity of the Warsaw Pact's military structures. According to the timetable, this should take place before next June. Everything rattled along until November when the Soviet Union began postponing these meetings. Now we will hold consultations with the Hungarians and Poles on how we should proceed to make sure that this timetable is adhered to.

[Jiru] In your opinion, is the reason for this postponement merely a technical one, or is it connected with specific problems associated with the Soviet Union's domestic political development, problems which we are witnessing today?

[Dienstbier] I think this is connected with specific domestic development problems. This does not have to mean an absence of goodwill, but may simply mean a lack of time and energy since these are today being devoted to something else in the Soviet Union. They do not have the time, energy, or desire to think about such matters. In this very connection, I am alarmed by the resignation of Eduard Shevardnadze because he was a man who simply and unequivocally understood that the Soviet Union should have friendly relations with these

countries. He understood that these relations could not be conducted on the old basis. He understood that it is necessary to establish them on a completely new basis as relations involving equal partners. He did everything for this. He was also attacked for this. If he was criticized for losing Central and East Europe, then his critics were wrong. On the contrary, he strived to ensure that his country established completely new friendly relations with these countries based on mutual respect and on fulfilling mutual agreements. He wanted to rid Soviet policy of its tendencies to take charge, tendencies which are still being manifested by some people. They can no longer take charge, and they consider this to be a tragedy.

[Jiru] Would you like to say anything else about Czechoslovakia's foreign policy prospects next year?

[Dienstbier] The CSCE secretariat is opening in Prague at a time when the so-called Helsinki II talks are under preparation, talks at which the Helsinki process should be institutionalized on a far higher level. It should even take over some security matters. To date, disarmament has been negotiated between NATO and the Warsaw Pact. After Helsinki II it would no longer be negotiated within this framework, but within the framework of the entire Helsinki process. Of course, specific institutions in which the whole thing could take place would also have to be established for this.

[Jiru] What specific role will Czechoslovakia play in this?

[Dienstbier] Czechoslovakia was involved right at the very beginning of many of these issues. At the beginning of the year when we came up with a proposal to establish a European security commission everyone looked at us as if they thought we were indulging in fantasies; however, now we have a secretariat in Prague and we have a center in Vienna. These ideas have provided a stimulus for a pan-European discussion and for the institutionalization of the Helsinki process. Many of these ideas have been adopted in the Paris Charter and, with security issues transferring from the two pacts to the Helsinki process, something like a European security commission will have to be established. There will be a great deal of discussion on how all of this should be organized. There will probably be a meeting about this under the patronage of myself and Manfred Woerner at the end of April. As you know President Mitterrand proposed that a meeting should be held in Prague involving the most senior state representatives at which the prospects for a European confederation could be discussed.

We will also have to cooperate more in certain issues with Poland and Hungary. At the beginning of the year, the three most senior representatives of these states should meet in Hungary; a similar meeting should take place in Poland later. On the one hand, we have to coordinate our stances toward the Warsaw Pact and, on the other hand, toward the United States because the United States has already made it clear many times that

it will be far more willing to cooperate with us when we demonstrate that we are willing to cooperate with the whole of this region.

[Jiru] Thank you for the interview.

Dienstbier Holds Briefing on Gulf Problems

*LD0901222591 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
2000 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[(Jikta Obzinava) report on news conference by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier at Ruzyně Airport on 9 January—recorded]

[Text] A special aircraft carrying Czechoslovak citizens who responded to the appeal of the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs to return home from Near East countries threatened with a possible break out of a military conflict in the Persian Gulf landed in Old Ruzyně airport at 1820 today. Immediately before the aircraft landed, Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier staged an improvised press conference. Our editor (Jikta Obzinova) recorded some of his answers for you.

[(Obzinova)] A total of 142 citizens returned from the Middle East.

[Dienstbier] All who wished to do so, including their families, departed by this special aircraft. Other citizens are using regular air links or private vehicles. We (?took back) from the United Arab Emirates those who wished to go, but only nine persons took advantage of our offer.

[(Obzinova)] Asked about the safety provision of other Czechoslovak citizens who are still in the Arabian Peninsula countries, Mr. Dienstbier answered:

[Dienstbier] I would like to proceed from the fact that we appealed to all who wish to return to do so. We ourselves brought back several of them from our recent trip to the Middle East. Others are flying in today. There are some other possible channels they can use to return home. Those who are staying behind can conduct themselves according to the guidelines of our offices, because our offices have prepared their plans. They are on various degrees of alert, depending on the country where they are and on the circumstances of that country. Naturally, security can only be insured in a way that is available. If war starts in the Middle East—and we keep hoping that Saddam Husayn will be forced, or that he himself will make a decision and that he will understand that he cannot hold out in this conflict and that he will withdraw—then all who are in this region are in danger. Right now we are unable to estimate how serious the conflict will be and how extensive the area affected. This, indeed, depends on a multitude of hitherto unknown factors.

[(Obzinova)] Reporters were also interested in the standard of security measures for the protection of foreign

representative offices in Czechoslovakia, which could be a target of terrorist attacks in the context of Persian Gulf crisis.

[Dienstbier] Protection is granted to some representative offices, and the security of the state institutions, which could also be attacked, is also being upgraded.

[(Obzinova)] Regarding the possibility of further developments in the Persian Gulf, Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier said:

[Dienstbier] As far as the occupation of Kuwait is concerned, there is no chance of reaching a compromise. Saddam Husayn must simply vacate the whole of Kuwait, and then it will naturally be possible to discuss some other questions, such as the possibilities of solving the situation in the Middle East as a whole. I am convinced that after the Kuwaiti conflict is resolved—and resolved in any way—it will be essential to aim efforts at solving the entire situation in the Middle East, because otherwise this area will be a continuing source of tension. [end recording]

Defense Minister Discusses Gulf Crisis

*LD0901170391 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1100 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Evelyn Forro report on news conference by Czechoslovak Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky on 9 January; place not given]

[Text] [Announcer] The Czechoslovak Defense Minister answered questions from our reporter Evelyn Forro. On this occasion, too, the subject naturally was the gulf crisis.

[Forro] What is your opinion on the Geneva meeting of the U.S. Iraqi foreign ministers and the chances of a war in the Persian Gulf? This is what I asked Czechoslovak Defense Minister Dobrovsky at a news conference this morning.

[Begin Dobrovsky recording, in Czech with superimposed Hungarian translation] Our opinion corresponds to the federal Czechoslovak foreign policy. I think every opportunity must be taken to ensure that the decision of the Security Council is implemented, and a peaceful road chosen.

The Geneva meeting between the U.S. and Iraqi foreign ministers is a very important step toward this, in particular because it is not possible to know what other aggressive actions might follow from Iraq.

If, however, the meeting does not lead to results, and a peaceful solution of the conflict is not possible, then I am convinced military force must be used. This is the position that Czechoslovak foreign policy, and the Ministry of Defense as well, has taken from the start. [end recording]

[Announcer] Personally, I share this view, declared Czechoslovak Defense Minister Dobrovsky, in answer to the question from Hungarian radio.

Remarks on Army Issues

*LD0901222691 Prague CTK in English 1444 GMT
9 Jan 91*

[Text] Prague Jan 9 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Defense Minister Lubos Dobrovsky pointed out today the need to make use of all possibilities so that UN demands on Baghdad may be met in a peaceful manner, and said today's meeting of the U.S. and Iraqi foreign ministers, James Baker and Tariq Aziz respectively, was a significant step.

At a press conference Dobrovsky identified himself with the UN Security Council decisions, adding that in case of a failure of the peace talks the use of military strength was necessary to prevent the unforeseeable consequences of unpunished aggression.

Referring to the presence of a Czechoslovak anti-chemical regiment in Saudi Arabia, Dobrovsky said its mission (to carry out chemical reconnaissance or help remove consequences of a possible chemical attack) has not changed. He thus reacted to reports that part of the Czechoslovak regiment was deployed in the rear of two Saudi brigades 37 kms from the Iraqi border.

He said the Czechoslovak Army's task at present was to change its strategy into one of a strictly defensive nature, the reduction of arms system and troops numbers, and filling a number of army posts, requiring great skills, with professionals.

Within the next three years hundreds of army units will be abolished or redeployed, with many of them being moved to Slovakia, the eastern part of the Czech and Slovak federal republic. One motorised and one tank division is to be stationed there by next spring and another anti-aircraft defence division and other units in the future. The redeployment is linked with preparations for a new Czechoslovak military doctrine under which the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the whole of Czechoslovakia will have to be ensured (so far the main Czechoslovak Army force was concentrated along the country's western border). The new doctrine will not define any concrete enemy—the enemy will be a military force which will gravely violate the country's protected interests, said Dobrovsky.

In the case of a military conflict, the Czechoslovak Army will rely on its own strength, Dobrovsky said, and added that in no case would the Army cooperate directly in the military sense of the term with any other army in any conflict.

The minister pointed out that even as the Army will be gradually professionalized, it will be necessary that Czechoslovak citizens undergo military training.

Dobrovsky said that for the next three years at least the Czechoslovak Army will be unable to modernize its equipment as it has not enough money for it. He also said Czechoslovakia would not buy any weapons from the former army of the GDR.

Chief of the Czechoslovak Army's General Staff General Anton Slimak stated that Czechoslovakia is required by the Vienna accords to reduce the number of its planes from 407 to 345 but it will in fact reduce them to 270 by 1993.

Concern Over Baltics Expressed to Soviet Envoy

LD0901165191 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The Czechoslovak public's concern at reports on latest developments in the Baltic region, and particularly the deployment of troops, has been expressed by Deputy Foreign Minister Zdenek Matejka at a meeting with Boris Pankin, the Soviet ambassador in Prague. Matejka stressed that the use of force could seriously undermine the efforts to achieve a peaceful resolution of problems between the center and the republics, and voiced the conviction that the only way out of the situation is political dialogue between representatives of the Soviet Union and the Baltic republics.

1,200 Citizens Still in Soviet Labor Camps

LD0901223591 Prague Federal 1 Television
Network in Czech 1830 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] The existence of concentration camps in the Soviet Union has become general knowledge in our country. The fact that approximately 100,000 of our citizens were deported to these camps between the years 1944-1949 is less known. Many of them perished there. The report that 1,200 of our citizens are probably still in the last camps in Siberia had a virtually explosive effect at today's news conference of the Presov Confederation of Political Prisoners held in Prague. Soviet propaganda broke them to such a degree that they are scared to return to their homeland because they think that the tribunal will sentence them to death after their return home.

'Confusion' Over Travel to Ex-Socialist Countries

AU0901145791 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES
in Czech 3 Jan 91 p 1

[Vladimir Matejovsky article: "Hard Currency Needed for Travel Anywhere"]

[Excerpts] It seems that the opening of borders to the West has closed for us the borders to the East. The New Year's shock that awaited our tourists in Poland [when they found out that the Polish side had stopped exchanging all currencies of former socialist countries on 1 January] can be applied to all ex-socialist countries, with the sole exception of Hungary. [passage omitted]

As of yesterday, not only Poland but also the Soviet Union, Romania, and Bulgaria will not exchange korunas for their domestic currencies, nor will they accept travelers checks in their own currencies. As we learned at the Federal Ministry of Finance, we have introduced the same measure in a reciprocal move. The question is how long this confrontationist policy will last.

The present situation is confusing, to say the least. Bohdan Soltan, commercial counselor at the Polish Embassy in Prague, told us at 1300 yesterday that they have no official instructions. About two hours later he recommended to our tourists to take with them \$20 for every day of their stay "if they want to avoid problems at the border." At the same time "there still do not exist any official regulations."

All this confusion has been caused by the failure to reach an agreement with the above countries on the question of clearing accounts from tourism. Our side recommended that the exchange of national currencies continue this year, on the understanding that the difference would be offset in hard currency at the end of the year. Only the Hungarians have accepted this, however. This is the background of the current exacerbated situation, which will probably soon force all the parties involved to sit down at the conference table again. [passage omitted]

What is strange about the whole affair is that, by coincidence, our banks will not start selling foreign exchange until 14 January. This means that, under the current rules of the game, a Czechoslovak tourist will not have a chance to travel to any of these countries for 10 more days without breaking the law. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary Group Leaders View Geneva Talks*LD1001095791 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0600 GMT 10 Jan 91*

[Text] Reactions in Budapest to the Geneva talks: Today's NEPSZABADSAG reports the views of the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the political parties.

On behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, Imre Konya says that Hungarian medical team is important because at last Hungarian foreign policy can and must demonstrate that Hungary is on the side of the victims of the aggression.

According to Ivan Peto, leaders of the Alliance of Free Democrats parliamentary group, it is not certain that political and economic instruments are sufficient to face such an extreme regime as the Iraqi one.

Viktor Orban, on behalf of the Federation of Young Democrats, said that as there is a chance of a peaceful solution discussions must continue.

Jozsef Torgyan, Independent Smallholders Party group leader, considers war to be unavoidable. He lists Hungary among the potential losers, because events in the gulf could upset the budget of the country.

Zoltan Kiraly, independent member of parliament, is entirely against Hungarian participation.

Zoltan Gal of the Hungarian Socialist Party, sees Hungarian diplomatic efforts as more important.

Agreement Signed With Kuwaiti Oil Minister*LD0801191891 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1600 GMT 8 Jan 91*

[Text] Prime Minister Jozsef Antall has held talks in Budapest with the Kuwaiti oil minister, Rashid Amiri. Amiri also met with International Economic Relations Minister Bela Kadar with whom he exchanged views on bilateral cooperation after the gulf crisis is resolved.

During the day the Kuwaiti minister of oil signed a mixed enterprise agreement with AFOR [Hungarian petroleum distribution enterprise], according to which the new firm will take over 17 gas stations from AFOR. The Hungarian-Kuwaiti mixed enterprise intends in the future to set up a petroleum refinery in Hungary.

Federation of Media Trade Unions Formed*LD0901091191 Budapest MTV Television Network
in Hungarian 1830 GMT 8 Jan 91*

[Text] At a session finished in the early hours of the evening, the three big trade unions of the mass media formed the federation of media trade unions. Its members are from the radio, television, and written press, including the HUNGARIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY.

The main objective of the federation is to stand up for the rights of employees, to facilitate the establishment of advantageous collective contracts and wage settlements, and to act against violations of rights, which affect those working in the media more and more. The federation wants to participate in every forum where the media is discussed; for example, regarding the appointments of professional leaders and privatization of the press.

The federation declared that centralization of the media in a single hand has to be prevented, because that would threaten freedom of the press. It is a warning sign that the appeal of the International Federation of Journalists warning against monopolization of the media was only published by the Hungarian press in fragments, or not at all. A correct news and information service, incidentally, is a basic human right of every citizen.

Paks Nuclear Station Increases Security Patrols*LD0901205491 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 1200 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Text] The Paks nuclear power station increased security arrangements, according to the deputy managing director of the company. In addition to the usual patrols at the plant site and its surroundings, well trained armed guards are on patrol. The deputy managing director said the increased security arrangements do not interfere with the functioning of the Paks nuclear power station.

Official Says Budapest on Brink of Bankruptcy*AU0801152091 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 5 Jan 90 pp 1,5*

[Interview with Gyorgy Stollar, acting head of the Financial and Planning Department of Budapest Mayor's Office, by Jozsef Szabo Bartha; place and date not given: "A Deficit of Almost 20 Billion Forints—Budapest on the Brink of Bankruptcy"; first two paragraphs are NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Excerpt] "We need almost 20 billion forints to make it possible for the Hungarian capital city to function at least at last year's level. There is no sense in talking about development. Public transportation is facing a catastrophe; it is almost certain that no social housing will be built and that the reconstruction and renewal of housing projects will be postponed; there is no money for maintaining the public service infrastructure, like pipelines and roads, and there is no money for cleaning the streets and squares. Part of the burdens of education, sports, cultural and social services also falls on the city's population."

The aforementioned report which projects a sad fate is lying on Gyorgy Stollar's desk for evaluation. We asked him whether Budapest's budget is really such a bitter pill?

[Stollar] We can count on about 80 billion forints for operational and development purposes in Budapest this year.

[Bartha] Out of this sum, how much comes from the state budget?

[Stollar] Some 25.5 billion forints for operational purposes, and 1.6 billion forints for development, and we will also receive 50 percent of the personal income tax back, some 16.7 billion forints. All in all, this makes up 43.8 billion forints. Subtracting this from the planned 80 billion forints, we come to the sum of 36.2 billion forints which, theoretically, the city of Budapest should produce itself in order to guarantee the conditions for proper functioning; however, we lack some 20 billion forints for this.

[Bartha] Is there any chance of getting the aforementioned sum somehow?

[Stollar] The local councils are practically "made up" of the opposition. Thus, I do not see real possibility of the government providing the missing funds. We already wrote letters to former Finance Minister Ferenc Rabar and Interior Minister Balazs Horvath, but they did not predict anything good. We are now presenting our severe situation to the new finance minister, Mihaly Kupa, but I must honestly say that we do not have high hopes at all.

[Bartha] Local taxes could help, could they not?

[Stollar] Theoretically, we can collect some 5 or 6 billion forints, but only from enterprises and various ventures, because we think that it is impossible to further increase the burdens of the general population. [passage omitted]

Bank Official on Removing Former Socialist Monies

LD0901123991 Budapest Domestic Service
in Hungarian 0600 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Interview with National Bank Division Head Gyorgy Fernli by Katalin Tassi; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The Hungarian National Bank [MNB] ended the listing of the currencies of the former ruble-accounting countries, with the exception of the Czech koruna. Currencies held by citizens can be exchanged until 20 January, if they can produce documentation proving the currencies were exchanged legally. What can you do with the money you are left with, if you do not have the documents?

[Fernli] The exchange is not compulsory, you can take out of Hungary currencies not listed by the MNB.

[Tassi] What are the customs in the countries we travel to most frequently: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, and the USSR? Are we allowed to take in these currencies?

[Fernli] With respect to Czechoslovakia, the interbanks agreement according to which each citizens may take in 600 korunas is still in effect.

[Tassi] What is the position in Romania, for example?

[Fernli] I understand from gossip that, supposedly, in Romania, foreigners, among them Hungarians, are not allowed to take in lei. The MNB had not been officially advised of this as yet.

[Tassi] Is there no new agreement?

[Fernli] We were only forced to inform the Romanian banking authorities that at the current rate of exchange we cannot deal with Romanian banknotes because the market conditions would indicate something quite different.

[Tassi] Can I get services for them? I imagine they would accept them from me in the shops, but, let us say a hotel room, can I get this for them?

[Fernli] There could be problems in certain hotels over acceptance of the national currencies of Romania, Bulgaria, and the Soviet Union. As far as I know there have been no central, government directives that no one should accept from Hungarian citizens national currency, but it is the special, local market developments, almost an entitlement of the commercial bodies. [sentence as heard] The MNB already has asked its banking counterparts in former socialist countries to please inform us how much the allowance is for the import and export of their national currencies that would be applicable to Hungarian citizens. We hope they will reply to this as soon as possible. If all goes well, it could be clarified in a week or two. We are awaiting the reply.

Finance Minister Extends Program Deadline

LD0901193291 Budapest MTI in English 1841 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Budapest, January 9 (MTI)—Minister of Finance Mihaly Kupa announced he would extend the deadline of his economic policy programme from three to four years, a crucial move in his view if it is to be successful.

The new programme is to be detailed in February, Kupa said, addressing the session of the presidium of the National Federation of Entrepreneurs.

Kupa said that he believes the curbing of inflation is the most important task, coming before everything else. Inasmuch as inflation is curtailed, the forint will be convertible as early as 1992, though this does not yet mean that entrepreneurs will be able to invest their free capital abroad in forints.

Also among the more pressing tasks are updating the tax, social insurance and amortization systems. Genuine social insurance reform can begin only after the separation of the health and welfare allowances, and allowances accompanying wages, scheduled to take place this year, he said. Health care should operate on an insurance basis after the reform.

Lech Walesa Gives First News Conference*LD0901192191 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1745 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[News conference by President Lech Walesa in Belweder Palace in Warsaw on 9 January; moderated by unidentified official; individual reporters identified where possible—recorded]

[Text] [Walesa] Dear ladies and gentlemen: I would like to point out something the spokesman has not mentioned—that we did not plan this conference. Actually, politically it should not be taking place, but I know how very much I owe you all in my career and in the Polish reforms, so I agreed to this meeting when I saw the great interest shown during my meeting with the primate; at the same time, I saw reproach in certain eyes, especially in the eyes of the blonde lady, a reproach that Walesa does not want to meet.

Well, I would like to say that if there should be more than 10 correspondents at any moment, night or day, we will introduce the tradition of meeting with you to treat you seriously, and so that you may take part in our reforms. Of course this is just my own casual proposal; it has not been discussed with the spokesman so perhaps, once again, it is undemocratic. However, I want to introduce something like this for a trial period, because I want us to understand each other. I want everything to turn out successfully for us. I want you to be satisfied and myself, as well, as a president. I am at your disposal, ladies and gentlemen.

[Moderator] Well, perhaps one by one. Mr. Andrzej Jelenski?

[Jelenski] Radio First and the RZECZPOSPOLITA newspaper have a question: What is the Political Council—attached to the president or attached to the president's office—to be?

[Walesa] I have agreed to regulate and to seek the best possible solutions for Poland, in political, economic, and other matters. Part of this search is the creation of something that would unite Poles and at the same time would (?remain) separate from them. (?I tried). I have not organized anything. I do not know whether I will organize anything; I am just searching. I am discussing, because I want to be true to everything I promised earlier, and I promised that Poland would need a left leg and a right one. That agreement must be found, that pluralism must be built as well as democracy. At that time I did not have executive powers.

Regarding the union, I had some trouble because whenever I made a political or economic decision, I heard the following type of comments immediately: he is showing off, he is attacking, accelerating. Today, when I have moved to another level to realize this very thing, I shall search and debate without any prejudgments. As for today, the proposal is that the name itself, the Council, will be subordinated to the president. This is a major

misunderstanding. I do not want to be a dictator; I do not want to set up anything or force anything; I am not saying anything like that. I am going to create possibilities, I am going to search for solutions. I shall do it; I do not want a dictatorship; I do not want to set up anything or force anything; I am not saying anything like that. I am going to create possibilities, I am going to search for solutions. I shall do it; I do not want a dictatorship; I do not want any subservience.

If we find a common key, the key which would empower or make it possible for various forces to join in, if we agree to such a key, then all is well and I will look for other solutions in other areas; I can leave it and not participate in it. But nobody can accuse me of not searching.

[Unidentified reporter] Mr. President, your press spokesman said that the political center will move to the Belweder; that is, the Political Council is to be a kind of a debating and advisory club. What then will your advisers do, the ones you are looking for now? That is the first question. The second question: Do you really want to deprive the new government of its influence on governing as the political center is to move here? Thank you.

[Walesa] Because I have not met with you, I am now hearing various heresies. One of them is the one you are voicing, madam. At this point, when the way in which the government is to be formed has not yet been formalized, I do not wish to cause an argument in this difficult moment. We have been without a government for two months. Dear ladies and gentlemen, practically no government for two months. And now, if we start arguments, any group can find someone who is better liked. To avoid this kind of argument, when we have not worked out the way in which we appoint the prime minister and the government, I proposed that we work it out and search, but in a different place. But let us allow Poland to be governed and the economic problems to be solved, as they are the most important ones. That is why I said, as a signal, and to give up political struggles within the government, let us move to the presidency. But there will never be a situation of no politics in the government. This is incredible. But, madam, consider for instance this idea: The largest party has its prime minister, as it is in Great Britain. Perhaps something like this could be passed and established here? I would be very glad if out of the largest party I had five candidates to choose as the president, to select one candidate. I would be very pleased and I would have no trouble. I would blame them for submitting these and not other candidates. I would have things the comfortable way. However, if I do not have this then I do not have such a key, and at the same time I am responsible for the current and future state of affairs. Then I have to search for solutions and resolve problems as fast as possible. Hence my proposal at the given moment, which empowers me...[Walesa pauses] This is not a good solution, it is necessary to move away from it I know; I shall search for solutions in this respect as well.

As you know, my character is that I do not like long conversations, I employ brevity a lot, but I know that in many areas I am unable without experts and without consultations—and nobody is able—to solve problems well. I shall consult, I shall use various people at various times, on various subjects, to lead Poland in the best possible way.

[Sterczula] Antoni Sterczula, Radio Solidarity. I wish to congratulate Mr. Walesa. Mr. President, many political parties that supported you expressed anxiety following the announcement of the composition of the government. Some representatives of these parties are embittered because they did not receive any ministerial posts and have somewhat been removed from power. Are you not worried that this could harm your public image, above all among those parties you must count on in future parliamentary elections?

[Walesa] Of course, this is a problem and a terrible dilemma for me right now. How many from the center; how many from ROAD [pro-Mazowiecki political group]; how many from old parties; how many from the new ones; how to count them; how many more chairs; is there room for everyone? This is unsolvable, but I wish to resolve it. I wish to resolve this in an honest, just, and possible way. There is no solution here. I am (?cutting) what is essential, I know this is not good; I would not like it as well, but at some time I have to do it, and I am stipulating that this is not good.

There will always be problems and complaints, and they are special ones right now, special ones, and whatever I do these decisions will always be undermined.

[Turek] Turek, UPI. Mr. President, what hopes do you have in connection with today's meeting in Geneva between Mr. Baker and Mr. Aziz? Is Poland prepared for possible attacks by Arab terrorists? One more question: Did you perhaps speak with the primate about the difficult fate of Poles in Lithuania?

[Walesa] Regarding the second question, it was too brief a conversation; we tackled many topics but not this one. I think about it a lot, and organizationally so does Jacek Merkel as the head of security. Here we are debating many options. Regarding the first problem, as you know I have sent a letter to President Bush saying that we express solidarity with the UN resolutions, and we shall faithfully support these resolutions. I am convinced that with our historical experience and other experience, the world will come to its senses and will not allow a stronger one to threaten a weaker one. I think that force should be considered when it is helping the weaker one. The current situation is therefore a reverse concept. Of course, I have not been here long enough and do not have enough data on many subjects, but I think that Poland will actively strive for peace, and will look for solutions, and at the same time effectiveness.

[Pninska] Maria Pninska from VOA. Mr. President, during your electoral campaign one of the main slogans concerned a form of special powers for the president,

that is decrees. Do you still see the need to rule the country by means of decrees? A second question: The subject matter of the talks you have been having with representatives of political groupings, aside from the Political Council, concerns the matter of parliamentary elections. Which election time is, according to you, the best: the spring or the fall, because these two options appear. Thank you.

[Walesa] As far as decrees are concerned, I have said many times that it would be similar to the situation when I said that I did not want to be the president, but that I would have to be president. Similarly with decrees: I do not want [them], and we do not want [them], but they must be. But, I make it clear—not from the president. My concept goes further. I think that over time we should appoint parliamentary experts, a body of five, seven, or up to 10 people, which would effectively issue decrees wherever unfavorable solutions or troubles appear. Next, these decrees would be considered on the strength of the law as having priority at every Sejm sitting. The Sejm immediately rejects or carries on decrees; it does so legally. So I am convinced that such a situation will occur in Poland. But I again stress: it is not to limit democracy or to be against democracy, the president, or the government. One rather must not do it—it may be dangerous. On the other hand, in an interparliamentary group, or whatever we may call them: the wise men or else the wise men of the Sejm [as heard]. Such decrees would, in my opinion, be advisable. I suppose that such a situation will occur soon.

The consultations I hold are aimed at helping to choose wisely an election date that is best for Poland, best for democracy, pluralism, etc. I would like to achieve this on this forum. So we are considering this issue. Today, I think the division is 50-50. Some want the election as soon as possible, in spring or even possibly earlier, and some want them later because both the political parties and organizations have not yet taken shape; they are only taking shape after my election. I will help them here, so they will be taking a just shape, they will rush to political action, and here I can do a lot, help a lot. But I do not...[changes thought] I agreed to be a regulator and not the one who imposes, the one who takes away, the one who proposes. I have to propose certain things, and I will, and I will try to choose the best option for democracy.

[Mietkowski] Andrzej Mietkowski from Radio Free Europe. Mr. President, two questions: First, how do you imagine the functioning of the Political Council in the Belweder, particularly the role of the ministers and secretaries of state and the group of advisers, made up of a dozen or more people, which was mentioned yesterday. Second, how do you assess the stand of your opponents from ROAD and the Democratic Union regarding the creation of the Political Council—in particular, we know very little about your meeting with Adam Michnik.

[Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I said at the very beginning that I would do everything to find the best possible solutions for Poland in political, economic, and other

spheres. Truly that was why I fought—to do more things in a better place. Many solutions will take shape and will be discussed; sometimes there will be much discussion, in keeping with the well-known saying that big storms give little rain, and vice versa, that there will be much rain from a little storm. This is true regarding my activities—I will seek very diligently; many solutions will work and many will not.

If I were like certain papers or the mass media describe me, that is if I cared about dictatorship or about taking over total power, well—you have to know me. Ladies and gentlemen, you have noticed that I am capable of organizing large rallies, of obtaining great support, and I can continue to do so now. I am certain that I am able to build great party support and to overwhelmingly win the parliamentary elections, but what would I solve with that?

I do not want to be a dictator. I do not want to take over power. I want to create conditions for various forces to ensure that we might push the cart together, including Messrs. Kwasniewski and Miller—they too are needed to push this Polish cart. I am seeking this and I am not excluding anyone. If I were dictatorial like they say, then I would only (?push this), that is great support; I would take all the places, say thank you, and govern. This would not solve any of the Polish issues and would not be in accordance with what, during the election campaign and even earlier, I said about democracy and pluralism, and many times did not implement, because I did not have executive powers. Today I have them and today I will thoroughly implement what I have promised many times.

[Kublik] Agnieszka Kublik from GAZETA WYBORCZA. I would like to ask whether certain of your interlocutors are right in thinking—like Senator Jan [name indistinct] yesterday—that the creation of the Council and its form depends on the date of the parliamentary elections. This means that the creation of the Council would mean a postponement of parliamentary elections, otherwise creating the Council would make no sense. This is how Senator [name indistinct] said he understood your intentions. I would like to ask if he viewed them correctly.

[Walesa] No. Before this body or any other is created, we should say why it is being created, for how long, and what role it will play. If this body is to lead us to democratic elections in a civilized way, then it must dissolve itself immediately after the elections. If this body, this gathering, defines different goals for itself—but legal ones nevertheless—so that it does not collide with the Sejm, so that it is not another government, a supergovernment, then all this has to be known beforehand. What is more, I do not envisage the president either being part of this body or directing it.

According to a recent concept, perhaps I could repeat to you how it looks after the recent debates. As of today, it looks like it (?cannot) be a council because it would be

subordinate to (?the president). It could be a political council, because if we are deliberating politically, it means that we do not agree, that there are different versions, and we select the best. The organizing of this Council seems today to be the most sensible option at three levels: first, organizing in a way that each party would have just one place and everyone with a key would belong somewhat; and here there are about 150 parties in Poland so there would be up to 200 people, one place each. [sentence as heard] These meetings could be held once every month or once every two or three months; this is the question of establishing it earlier so that it would be logical and sensible.

Another level of organization: a presidium of this Council. Here, to introduce common sense, it would be necessary to say how many people and how many places, for instance 30; that is, the largest organizations which fit into this 30 in Poland constitute a presidium. Not a president's caprice or fancy, but—I have so many people, and I could fill the 30 places.

The third degree of organization: a secretariat of this Political Council. I think there should be five to seven people in the secretariat, again from the biggest organizations, delegated to make sure everything is going in accordance with the decisions, if it is implemented, if it is necessary to intervene, but not to intervene through resolutions and not against the Sejm, but for instance with a request to the Sejm or the president or the prime minister. That, sir, is how this really ought to be done, and so on, and so on.

Of course there is no chairman, there are only places for organizations. One could make it so that each organization in turn would have the chair for a month—because someone must chair all this—so you have an alternating chairmanship without the participation of the president. Of course invitations may be issued and the president may ask that only chairmen come to some meetings because unusually important decisions have to be made. In another case, for example, there may be talk of agriculture, so each party or organization sends someone who is knowledgeable about agriculture, and a discussion on agriculture or other matters is held. But in no way may this be a supergovernment or a superparliament; this is just to be an opportunity for discussion, an opportunity for watching over the reforms, a civilized way of coming to an agreement, so that we behave ourselves and cause the least harm possible to Poland and to its solutions—but not through statutes, not by governing.

Second, many social forces, after the roundtable, have no possibilities to act. They did not get around to acting, do not govern, and are not in parliament. These bodies would then be able to take an active part in what is going on in Poland, in Polish reforms. They would not be guided by a rush for immediate elections to be held today because we are not taking part; they would take part, they would be able to put forward and to talk about all this, and they would be able to choose the best solution—

even be able to ask in electoral matters—taking into consideration the fact that things are going badly. We must hold elections, we must ask parliament to hold them as quickly as possible because we want to take part.

I am not talking about foregone conclusions; I want to create platforms for the active participation of Poles in Polish life.

[Unidentified reporter] During yesterday's examination in the Sejm, Mr. Balcerowicz showed himself to be a declared opponent of the proportional electoral law on elections to the Sejm—something which is, I believe, supported by the majority of your political interlocutors. Which side in this political dispute are you going to support, Mr. President?

[Walesa] Again I cannot be there to support; I am there to ensure fair play and a fair presentation of options—that is my role. I will say the following: Each of these electoral laws has positive and negative points. I will say further that the rights which are visible to politicians or people who have greater experience are fair from these people's point of view; but from the point of view of a lack of democracy, a lack of freedom, a lack of participation in the life of Poland, it is quite the contrary—solutions are better than this kind of activity. I think we must survive society entering public life in a great assembly, whether it be 100 parties or 200, we must simply survive it because otherwise they will say that we do not allow it, we do not identify with this, we do not want to be there, we would not take part. It is difficult, it is inconvenient, but we simply have to survive it. I think I will manage to survive.

[Zaniewska] Ewa Zaniewska, editor of the WARSAW VOICE. Two questions: What is the future of the Citizens' Committee which, according to its statute, you are empowered to dissolve, especially since you said to the committee in July—I quote more or less—I would like to see you all with me at the presidential council. The second question: How do you assess allegations by Professor Kurowski from the Center Alliance, who says that by appointing the Political Council you are going against your own pre-electoral programs of acceleration and of squaring accounts with the communists. Thank you.

[Walesa] I will begin with the second question. I have not appointed anything yet, and the fact that I have been trying may mean that one may have objections about the concepts; these concepts may be even denied and rejected, and I agree with it. But Mr. Kurowski and others cannot accuse me of not trying. If I had decided on something, well, one would really have a right to a grievance. I have not made any decision yet. I created a platform for talks with everyone who came forward, and I invited others to come forward in a different manner. So it is a misunderstanding.

As far as the Citizens' Committee is concerned, ladies and gentlemen, the situation is somewhat different. I am the president, and the Citizens' Committee is attached to President Lech Walesa. Something is wrong here. As

usual I have a good sense of smell, and I know that what we have gained must not be wasted, we must not run into a blind alley. We must find a new definition to fulfill our mission, but in a different organization. It would be bad, I would be a dishonest man, if I discarded all those who pulled the Polish cart together, went with me together [words indistinct] in my solutions and told them: Well, I have won, and you may go home. This is not right. Therefore I set some homework for the committee, and I have been thinking hard about what should be done to help along the Polish road to reforms, so that a place may be found for all those who are indispensable—and there are not too many keen on working toward reforms.

We will find such a solution, we will find [word indistinct], and I am convinced that 90 percent or more will find a place in the Polish reforms. The matter has become a little complicated.

I thought I would be able to do more. My acceleration has been slowed down regarding the government. I thought that regarding the government, we would be able to settle this faster. We would meet today, probably in Szczecin or elsewhere. I want to be a roving diplomat. I want to introduce many matters and speed them along. The acceleration has been slowed down regarding the government. I have not done as much as I wanted, as much as I planned. It is difficult to conceive of the magnitude of tasks awaiting us.

Such waste, such [word indistinct] are unthinkable. Therefore there will be huge upsets and large cuts. I came to build Poland, not to squander Poland. That is why I intend to do a lot, to do a lot with respect to every man, but also with respect to the working people; those who work for me, and for us. Thus to carry out big reforms in many places, and to take a different look at all this. The task has grown so much, it has grown so much that it makes life so difficult that the task cannot remain as it is. We will try to establish clear organizational systems everywhere. There cannot be a situation whereby someone comes to an office and is not helped. We will introduce a system whereby no one leaves an office without being helped. If there is a situation when someone does not deal with a customer twice in a row, then he will not work in this office. Offices are for people and not people for offices. Therefore, in connection with this, I intend to stir a great revolution in the administration—those who are subordinate to me—so that there is clarity, so that everyone who comes knows who does what, what he is there for, and what he is taking money for.

[Moderator] The last question, please.

[Grobowski] Kazimierz Grobowski from RZECZPOSPOLITA. Antoni Macierewicz said yesterday that he received from you, Mr. President, a proposal to take part in the work of the team of advisers and he accepted it. Would it be possible to give the names of other members of this team of advisers?

[Walesa] Regarding this subject, Wieslaw Chrzanowski used to specialize, began to specialize, and was asked by me to do so. As you know, I had to ask him to move to

another place—he is a minister—so he complicated the matter for me a bit. It looks today like Jan Olszewski is going to deal with things, and he will formulate the legible [as heard]. The point is not for someone to be there and just do something. It must be clear: who, on what topic, where, what for, tackling what. Therefore, very recognizable structures. Today you can say things are unclear. Yes, today the matter is unclear because we are finding our bearings; today we are carrying out a verification and taking stock of all this, because we do not even know what we have, we do not know what belongs to who and what it is, and in this connection there is a bit of a mess, but the computers will help us to sort things out, to count, to document, to place, and on difficult subjects we shall attempt to be straitforward so that when you enter the Belweder you will see at once that this is worth it and this is not. The same will ultimately apply to every institution.

We are aiming at this target and that is why the detailed things, as you have asked me madam, or sir, about Macierewicz and about advisers—do not squeeze this out because I am in a mess to be able to create order. [sentence as heard] Of course we will meet very often, but I have been blocked; I would have met you earlier but I was blocked by the failure to elect a government. I thought my prime minister would be blocked and I had other proposals, but no, I was blocked on the subject of the government. Here I cannot do anything. I wish things to be orderly regarding the parliament, so I am awaiting all this impatiently.

But I am asking you to appeal to the parliamentarians, they have the right, they must know who they elect; let us not break with democracy. At the same time, I would like to write, and so far I have not read an article yet that says that there has been no government in Poland, and any further extension will really not solve the problems, so we must be serious and must quickly and patriotically push this subject forward, as it is blocking my actions and those of other forces. We are not solving the problems, and we cannot afford not to have a government.

Kozlowski Refutes Attacks on Internal Ministry

AU0901154191 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 91 pp 1,2

[Interview with Internal Affairs Minister Krzysztof Kozlowski by Ewa Szemplinska; place and date not given: "I Fear A Return of the Former Methods"]

[Excerpts] [Szemplinska] Attacks on the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] are increasing. After the articles in TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and KURIER POLSKI, Krakow's CZAS has launched an attack. Its article contains a double accusation; namely, a political one (sheltering and protecting the old cadres and links with the KGB), and an operational one (neglect and lack of efficiency, for example, in operation "Zelazo" [Iron] and

in the background investigation of a man who decided to run for the presidency). What is your response to these accusations?

[Kozlowski] Let me comment on the last one first. The facts in the Milewski case are known. The conflict between the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP], the Prosecutor's Office, and the independent court, revolved around the issue of legal competence and whether the offenses were statute-barred or could still be prosecuted. From the MSW's point of view, it was not a case of seeing whether we could initiate a prosecution, it was more important to show former internal workings of the ministry to the public. I might not agree with the court's final ruling, but I have to respect its independent decision and we must accept the fact that the days when the MSW could influence court judgments have gone.

[Szemplinska] Let us accept that the MSW is now helpless in the face of rulings by an independent judiciary. Should it not have shown more vigilance when faced by an unknown candidate who had decided to run for the presidency and exposed him to public scrutiny?

[Kozlowski] First of all let me say that the MSW cannot do the legislature's work, which left a loophole in the electoral law that allows any candidate who has Polish citizenship and collects 100,000 signatures (with no provisions for checking their validity anyway) to run for president. Second, I continue to maintain that special measures can only be used in dramatic situations. [passage omitted]

[Szemplinska] Let us return to the political accusations. CZAS states that the vetting of functionaries was a sham.

[Kozlowski] If CZAS thinks that a vetting process that lasts several months and is supervised by Sejm deputies, senators, trade unions, citizens' committees, and where people have given so much time and effort (including Jacek Merkel, one of Lech Walesa's closest collaborators) is a sham, then all I can say is that there is nothing to discuss. If one were to accept what CZAS is saying, it would mean that the last 12 months have been a waste of time and Mazowiecki's time in office a scandal. This is not a serious argument. I would like to reiterate that a vetting that postulates a 100-percent staff turnover is not feasible. Apart from the obvious cases, it is very difficult to apportion responsibility to individual officers. Most people who had a bad reputation left of their own will. Those who cooperated with the "Solidarity" underground came out of the process positively. I value the fact that a former representative of the nomenklatura, Captain Adam Hodysz, who served a prison sentence for cooperating with "Solidarity," is now the head of the Gdansk UOP. There are few such clear-cut cases. Similarly, there were few totally "tarnished" functionaries. If we accept the principle of a state that respects the rule of law, then despite all the wailings of CZAS, there will not be any wholesale prosecutions until firm evidence is available and evidence is very hard to come by. [passage omitted]

[Szemplinska] What is your reply to the accusation that the MSW cooperates with the KGB?

[Kozlowski] The reports published by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC and CZAS are examples of very poor journalism. Names were made public, without any evidence being produced. I would like to repeat that none of the three individuals named by Mr. Szaniawski has ever studied in Moscow. What is more, I have evidence of their loyal service to the present Polish state. The argument that the public presence of a KGB resident in Poland means that we are not a sovereign state is simply ridiculous.

[Szemplinska] Do we have our own intelligence resident in Moscow?

[Kozlowski] Yes, we do. Additionally, there are intelligence residents from other countries working in various foreign embassies in Warsaw. Their presence is not a threat to the state.

[Szemplinska] Nevertheless, the accusation that the MSW cooperates with the KGB is a serious charge leveled at one of our most important state institutions.

[Kozlowski] I want to say that I do not underestimate the presence of foreign intelligence services in Poland. I am not saying there are none, but we have our counterintelligence service to deal with this. Institutional links between the MSW and the KGB have been severed, but this does not mean that the KGB, as well as other intelligence services, do not have their own hidden agents here. To say that we support the work of foreign intelligence services in Poland is a slur that could lead to court proceedings.

Soviet Troop Deployment in Country Viewed

LD0901200891 Warsaw PAP in English 1922 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 9—About 50 thousand Soviet soldiers are stationed in Poland currently, together with back-up personnel and family members this figure reaches about 90 thousand people.

Spokesman for the government plenipotentiary for the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, Colonel Stefan Golebiowski, speaking at a news conference today, said that Soviet troops stationed in Poland since 1944 are deployed in 35 garrisons in 15 voivodships and have in use about 70 thousand hectares of land. The status of the Soviet troops stationed in Poland is regulated by the December 1956 Polish-Soviet agreement.

The spokesman said that the Soviet side withdrew a landing troops' brigade from Bialogard, Koszalin voivodship, and an Air Force squadron from Brzeg, Opole voivodship, all in all, about seven thousand soldiers.

Speaking about investments ordered by the Soviet Army, implemented in the so-called internal export, Golebiowski said that profits in the first eleven months of 1990

reached about 12 million dollars and deliveries of goods to Poland worth over 52 billion zloties. Poland, in virtue of damages stemming from the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, received over 340 million zloties last year.

Colonel Golebiowski also added that Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz has set up a special team to assess all costs borne by Poland in connection with the stationing of Soviet troops.

The spokesman also told newsmen that Polish military prosecutor's offices conducted 75 investigations against Soviet soldiers during the first half of last year. In result of crimes committed by those soldiers, four persons died, 11 suffered body injuries, while material losses were assessed at over 220 million zloties.

Army To Reduce Troop Strength Over 5-7 Years

LD0901112891 Warsaw PAP in English 1012 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 9—Polish Armed Forces will reduce their numbers from about 305,000 soldiers to some 230,000-250,000 during 5-7 years from now and the proportion of professional military personnel will grow up to about 50 percent, deputy chief of the Polish Army General Staff General Franciszek Puchala told the press today.

The military would not mind having a civilian chief of the Defence Ministry, Puchala declared.

Medical Contingent Departs for Saudi Arabia

LD0901115191 Warsaw PAP in English 1008 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 9—Eighty women and twenty-seven men, making up a Polish medical contingent for two hospitals in Saudi Arabia, left Poland today.

They were seen off by their friends and relatives and representatives of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, National Defence, Health and Social Welfare at the Warsaw military airport accompanied by the Polish Army's guard of honour.

GUS Publishes Tentative Economic Data for 1990

LD0901235691 Warsaw PAP in English 2233 GMT
9 Jan 91

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 9—The main statistical office "GUS" published tentative data on the economic situation last year.

Compared to 1989, sold production of the socialized industry fell by 25 percent in 1990. The biggest recession was recorded in the light industry in which sales dropped by as much as 37 percent. Construction fared best, with a 17.6 percent drop in sold output. Last year saw the completion of 84.6 thousand flats, that is 11.2 percent less than in 1989.

Procurement of slaughter animals fell by 17.3 percent and milk by 13.8 percent.

The average wage (without benefits) in the five basic branches of the state-run sector totalled 955.9 thousand zlotys last year.

Poland posted a trade surplus of 4.7 billion rubles and 4.7 billion dollars in 1990. This was the result of a significant, 17-percent increase in total exports and an over 12 percent drop in imports. Ruble imports fell by 35.4 percent while exports by 11.3 percent. Hard currency exports grew by 45.2 percent while imports dropped by 9.5 percent.

Timisoara Federation Holds 'Authorized' Rally

*AU1001111291 Bucharest Domestic Service
in Romanian 0500 GMT 10 Jan 91*

[Excerpts] Yesterday, 9 January, an authorized rally, organized by the Timisoara Federation of the Timis County Free Trade Unions, was held in Timisoara Revolution Square.

In opening the rally, Mr. Traian Pascu, the spokesman of the federation, informed the thousands of participants that representatives of the federation and parliamentarians who represent Timis County had started a dialogue with the Romanian Government.

Next, Mr. Adrian Simon, the leader of the federation, read a communique containing the claims put forward by the Timisoara representatives at the meeting with the government representatives and presented the government communique. [passage omitted]

Mr. Adrian Simon stated that at the end of 1990 dialogue was not refused; the Timis County representatives asked for the dialogue to take place in Timisoara. Likewise, taking into consideration the important role that the town of Timisoara played in the 1989 December revolution, the prime minister was asked to visit Timisoara with a view to seeking solutions to the socioeconomic claims of this town's citizens. It was mentioned that in the event their claims are not met the trade union leaders will start a hunger strike.

Correspondents also report that during the meeting, trade union leaders presented the socioeconomic difficulties faced by economic units in their town and their county. The speakers stressed how important it was for the media to correctly report Timisoara events and that town's problems. They asked for the trade unions' claims to be met, and a general strike was announced.

At the end of the rally, the column made up by participants in the rally moved towards the County Prefects' Office, chanting anti-government and anti-presidential slogans. Then, the same column noisily expressed disapproval of articles that have appeared lately in the local daily RENASTEREA BANATEANA. The demonstrators called for a dialogue with the chief editor of the respective publication but as a result of certain altercations, the county prefect, Mr. Florentin Carpanu, announced that the publication of the mentioned newspaper has been banned for an unlimited period.

No Incidents Reported; Newspaper Banned

*AU1001111391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1009 GMT 10 Jan 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/01/1991—On Wednesday, an authorized meeting started in Timisoara's Opera Square at 3 p.m., organized by the Timisoara Federation of Free Trade Unions in Timis County.

No incidents were reported during the meeting. At its end the demonstrators marched to the county's prefecture chanting anti-communist, anti-governmental and anti-presidential slogans. They insistently demanded the suppression of the "RENASTEREA BANATEANA" newspaper. It was decided that a group of demonstrators and the county's prefect have a dialogue with the editorial staff. Following the dialogue, and under street pressure, Prefect Florentin Carpanu decided to suppress the newspaper.

After the television news programme reported it, a great number of the newspaper's readers came to its headquarters. Several delegations of the newspaper's supporters talked with Prefect Carpanu in order to overcome the situation.

Late in the night, "RENASTEREA BANATEANA" was issued though, in four blank pages, bearing only the title and a box with the following text: "We show respect for our readers even in these difficult moments for us and for democracy. We thank those who were with us, late in the night, after hearing the televised communique."

PNL Leader Campeanu's Behavior Condemned

*AU0901215191 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2057 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1991—The Bureau of the Steering Committee of the Romanian Party for the New Society (PRNS) expresses in a press release its concern about the "manner in which the National Liberal Party (NLP) [PNL] and its president, Radu Campeanu, understand to take part in politics, to promote dispute and dialogue between parties themselves and between parties and power".

The press release emphasises the party's discontent with Radu Campeanu's reply to the interpellation of 8 January in the Senate in connection with the 4 January material broadcast by the NLP through the Romanian Television.

National Current Social Aspects Examined

*AU0901190891 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1705 GMT 9 Jan 91*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1991—**Trade Union Movement**

Before the revolution trade unions were an instrument of power. They had no rights. The right to strike was not recognized while calling a strike could result in a penal sentence. The purpose of trade unions was not to defend employees' rights but to "promote the party's policy".

Now the trade union movement exists without however being sanctioned by law. Several federations dominate trade union life. They are fighting over the property of the Former General Trade Union Confederation of Romania (UGSR) although they seem to have reached agreement in principle. Nobody has a clear notion as yet

about trade union organization by enterprises? By professions? Relations are not yet structured between trade unions and political forces organized according to professional or territorial criteria or only to political affinities. Speaking at a more general level, the trade union role is not clearly understood in relation to the boards of directors. Some unions raise not only salary claims but also about changing or appointing executives in their enterprise which is normally the right of the owner. There is an almost general tendency with trade unions to demand the government to solve their claims.

Social Classes

In the past, there were, according to the Marxist theory, three social classes: the workers, the peasants and the intellectuals. The working class was "the leading force" in society. Practically all social classes were deprived of rights. The trend was to turn the whole population into a sort of army and to level down its earnings and opportunities. A subtle policy permanently pitted one class against the other which resulted in a special way of thinking with a negative long term effect.

No sociologist or political leader has so far studied the real social structure in the present period of transition. The gap between intellectuals and workers has widened to the benefit and a certain tendency is apparent to discriminate between technical and humanistic intellectuals.

A movement from the cities to the countryside is evident affecting above all commuters who were massively used in construction work in the past. The movement is due to the imperative to restructure industry as a whole that used to be based on demographic migration in the opposite way.

There is a strong political division which may be further increased through the process of privatization that started in a different way from what many had hoped and is tending to alter the social structure in an undesirable manner: on the one hand, a class of profiteers consisting mainly of the same people who were privileged under the former regime (the only rich enough to buy companies and shares), but also of various "smart guys" of the transition period, and, on the other hand, a wide mass or class of workers and intellectuals equally threatened by relative poverty.

Ethnic Minorities

Under the communist dictatorship, all ethnic minorities had officially the same rights as the majority population.

After the revolution, all minorities, regardless of their number, set up their own parties, associations and unions. The most have representatives in parliament. Others were given a place in parliament even if they had not won it in the elections. Many of those minorities have now for the first time their own publications. Their representatives mainly fight for those ethnic groups' cultural rights.

Power has not expressed itself clearly so far on the minority matter. The government program includes no provision thereabout. No bill has so far been submitted to the legislative forum about the minority problem. There probably is a tendency to wait for a first approach to it suggested by the future constitution.

Dissensions, especially with the Hungarian minority, grew deeper. Intolerance led to extremism, which took up violent forms last March in Tirgu Mures. The report of the parliamentary commission investigating the Tirgu Mures events has not yet been made public.

Human Rights

Under the dictatorship, the "deeply humanist" conception of the single party focused on the social and economic aspects of human rights, considered to be the respect of the right to live, to work, to a house, to education, learning and culture, to medical and social assistance, while ignoring and disregarding political and civic liberties.

All human rights under the 1948 UN universal declaration and the protocols giving legal enforcement to the declaration principles in which Romania took part were violated.

Today, the right to talk freely, also in such cases when human rights are infringed, is ensured. After December 1989 a number of nongovernmental human rights organizations were founded. The best known are the League for the Defense of Human Rights in Romania, the Human Rights Association—Helsinki Committee, the League for justice and the "Save the Children" Fund. The government decided to set up an Institute for Human Rights under the sponsorship of the Parliament.

The right of association in political, trade union or any other bodies is proved by the numerous parties and political and apolitical organizations recently created.

Two international conferences took place in Romania on democracy and human rights one in Timisoara and another in Bucharest (over December 8-10).

The Dissidents

Chased, persecuted, under house arrest, sometimes imprisoned or compelled to emigrate, the few dissidents were the hope of the struggle against the regime.

A difference should be made between dissidents on the one hand, there were those who were against not only Ceausescu's regime but also the communist system, and on the other hand Ceausescu's opponents who wanted to improve society but within the same communist system a "socialism with a humane face". The latter include the signatories to the "letter of the six" as well as other communist dignitaries who were assigned secondary posts or not even that.

Anyhow, Romania had no organized dissidence as it was the "Charter 77" or similar others in the Eastern European countries. This is also one of the explanations for the absence of a powerful opposition or of alternatives after December 1989.

With no distinction as to Ceausescu's dissidents and his opponents, most of them were co-opted, in the first moments, to the National Salvation Front Council bodies. But shortly afterwards, the most remarkable of them retired accusing ambiguities, immobilism and the maintenance of the old structures and mentalities [sentence as received]. Doina Cornea and Ana Blandiana are among them.

Gradually, as their positions are getting more radical and political division in society deeper, their previous merits are minimized, they are submitted to denigration and made responsible for the difficulties the country encounters. The power accuses their actions and statements of being destabilizing and expressing interests alien to the country, for which the state receives no assistance from the West.

There is also a category of false former dissidents that claim to be fighters against Ceausescu's regime though their excessive zeal in supporting and praising it is well known.

Ceausescu's former opponents are generally the supporters of the current power or of the ones who hold it. The emergence of a renamed communist party on the political scene calls for delimitations either to back the respective party or to clearly detach from them.

The dissident phenomenon has not disappeared yet but it is given ever smaller room because one can protest without big obstacles, can resort to strike, marches, meetings, appeals in the press a.s.o. [expansion unknown] The cases of hunger strike for political reasons are extreme.

The Emigrants

More particularly in the last period of Ceausescu's regime, emigration had grown. The reasons were political and economic, including the lack of prospects. The emigrants were considered traitors and, if they had returned home they would have taken the risk of harsh convictions. A law was passed from the very first moments after the revolution, which enabled any Romanian citizen to come back home irrespective of the way in which he emigrated. But there are only few who returned. Emigration continues massively among the youth. Economic reasons prevail for a definitive leaving, but the political ones persist because many consider that nothing has changed.

The Diaspora

Before the revolution, unlike in all the East European countries, the communist regime have had virtually no

relations with the Diaspora as it was generally considered to be made up of traitors to the country, adversaries to the regime, denigrators and right-wing extremists. Still, it includes outstanding men of letters, academic professors, researchers and scientists, as well as businessmen.

Today, despite all the favorable provisions the authorities endorsed, few remarkable members of the Romanian Diaspora came back home, while the number of the ones who resettled in Romania is infinitesimal. Calls are officially made for the strengthening of links with the Romanian diaspora. All those who can are urged to help the country advance toward democracy and economic recovery.

Deputies' Assembly Views Economy, Other Issues

AU0901195391 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1836 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1990—The activity of the Assembly of Deputies continued on January 9 with proceedings by standing commissions, which were handed over a large number of bills intended to provide for a normal operation of the state and the creation of the necessary legal framework for a passage to the market economy.

The budget and finance commission concentrates on the draft law of the budget of the state central administration in 1991, the same draft normative act being in the focus of another 10 standing commissions.

The commission on agriculture, silviculture, the food industry and services in agriculture discusses the bill on the approval of the wood to be harvested in 1991. Endorsement is also expected from the commission on ecological balance and environmental protection.

The working agenda of other commissions includes an important number of draft normative acts the bills on pays, the regulation of foreign investment, audio visual aid, the granting of Romanian citizenship, collective work contracts and others.

The works of the Assembly of Deputies will be resumed in plenum on Thursday at 09:00 hours, local time.

Communique Issued on Dialogue With Timis Unions

AU0901215291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2105 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1991—Both the caretaker government that assumed responsibilities after the December '89 revolution and the present government, whose members were nominated after the May '90 elections have had a permanent and systematic dialogue with the unions, with all the social groups that have sought for solutions to a number of economic and socio-professional issues, says a communique sent to be released by ROMPRES.

Along this line, Romania's Government invited the leaders of the unions in the Timis County to a dialogue that was to start on December 28, 1990, to seek solutions to the economic and social issues the units and employees in the Timis County, in Timisoara in particular, have been faced with, and about which the government was informed at the end of 1990. The leaders who addressed the government rejected the proposal, without specifying the reasons why.

Nevertheless the government has remained open to dialogue. It has established together with officials of the Timis County Prefecture the necessity that a list of problems be drawn in the first phase, according to which a group of government experts will be formed for examining the solutions possible in each and every unit in the new context of the transition to the market economy.

If necessary, another phase will follow, not later than the end of January, during which a government team together with union leaders and the managerial boards of enterprises should seek for solutions to the issues that haven't been solved in the first phase.

Iliescu Receives Professional Journalists' Group

AU0901205991 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2004 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/1/1991—President Iliescu received Wednesday, 9 January, a delegation of the Professional Journalists' Union, headed by its president, Stefan Mitroi.

The delegation described the purpose and the targets of the union and the actions that should be taken for the establishment of a legal framework for professional journalists.

The discussions stressed the need for a law of the press to be drafted with the participation of all the existing press organisations, as well as for a legislation entitling them to set up appropriate funding.

Trade Ministry Announces New Import Customs Tax

AU0901162291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1331 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1991—The new import custom duty of Romania gives undiscriminatory treatment to all economic agents depending on the form of ownership, regardless of the imported commodities' destination, whether they are to be sold for lei or for hard currency. Mr. Cezar Gulbenkian, general manager at the Ministry of Trade and Tourism, told daily ADEVARUL.

Speaking about the aforementioned document, he specified that unusually high tariffs had been reduced for 22 items and also for 85 items on the list which made no discrimination as to the import purposes.

As a result of the state monopoly on foreign trade being abolished, it was necessary to change the principles of

declaration, guarantee and payment of custom duties. To that effect, economic agents are required to provide, besides the customs entry, other documents relating to the respective export or import operation, such as a license issued by the Ministry of Trade and Tourism the Foreign Trade Department's Trade Policy Division. Moreover, in order to stimulate exports through special custom duties on imports required for production purposes, a "drawback" status is introduced, consisting of the total or partial refund of import duties paid when goods enter the country, in case those goods are re-exported either in the same condition or after being altered, processed or repaired for export purposes, or if they had become part of export products.

Nastase, Syrian Counterpart View Joint Relations

AU0901190791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1728 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/1/1991—The relations between Romania and Syria and their future development were priorities in the working agenda of the Romanian foreign minister, Mr. Adrian Nastase, who is paying an official visit to Damascus, and his Syrian counterpart, Mr. Faruq al-Shar'.

Highlighting the fine cooperation between Romania and Syria the two ministers analyzed further modalities of achieving joint ventures and establishing new lines of cooperation. The fact is noteworthy that the Syrian side expressed full understanding for the recovery of Syria's debts to Romania.

Analyzing the economic capacity of the two countries it was shown that through joint efforts a dynamism may be found to give broader dimensions to bilateral economic links.

Mr. Adrian Nastase enlarged upon the economic, social and political process in Romania after the revolution and the efforts made for democratization, for economic and social progress, all while reiterating this country's wish to continue to cooperate with Arab countries, with Syria in particular.

The Syrian foreign minister said his country was appreciative of Romania's efforts in various areas and shared in the idea of deepening and improving bilateral cooperation. At the same time, appreciation was expressed for Romania's stance on the events in the gulf area.

As for economic relations, talks were conducted on the establishment of a date for the start of the proceedings of the Joint Romanian-Syrian Commission and, politically, the need was stressed for systematic contracts between the two ministries, at a government level.

With reference to the gulf situation, opinions were exchanged on the crisis in light of the Security Council Resolution 675. In that framework, it was stressed that in the current situation the essential requirements for a settlement are those expressed in the resolutions of the

Security Council which call for Iraq's complete withdrawal from Kuwait and the reestablishment of the legitimate government in that country.

The exchange of opinions also included initiatives and demarches for a political settlement of the gulf crisis, for the resolution of the complex problems in the Middle East, the final conclusion being that efforts should be made to avoid the recourse to weapons as, once started, a war might have serious and unpredictable consequences.

The Syrian foreign minister was invited to pay an official visit to Romania and the invitation was accepted.

Undersecretary Discusses Relations With Spain

AU0901195491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
1900 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/1/1991—Negotiations took place at the Spanish Foreign Ministry on the development of Romanian-Spanish cultural relations and a programme of cultural exchanges was signed for the next two years.

During the meeting of Mr. Adrian Dohotaru, undersecretary of state at the Romanian Foreign Ministry, with Mr. Luis Yanez, secretary of state for international cooperation at the Spanish Foreign Ministry, aspects of Romanian-Spanish cooperation were tackled in the political, cultural, educational, press, consular and other fields. The parties evinced the irreversibility of the revolutionary process of democratic change that started in Romania.

Mr. Miguel Arias Estevez, general manager of the Spanish Foreign Ministry's Cultural and Scientific Department, in his address on the conclusion of that round of talks, reasserted his government's will to take action to develop relations with Romania in all fields. I take this opportunity to recall that during this term Spain will chair the Council of Europe, Mr. Miguel Arias Estevez said, adding that invitations had been sent not only to member countries but also to the other CSCE participants and Albania to attend the March 23 meeting in Spain, with an open agenda, naturally focusing on the subject of European cultural cooperation and the widening of the Europe we are trying to build together now.

Mr. Adrian Dohotaru informed about the Romanian government's present activities in the cultural field, its concern to preserve national assets and integrate them in the circuit of universal values. Language, culture and civilization similitudes between the two people were highlighted, based on a common Latin origin, as well as the still underused potential of Romanian-Spanish cultural and other relations and the promising prospects they open which deserve to be materialized without delay.

Prime Minister Receives French State Secretary

AU0901214491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2108 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/01/1991—Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman received, Wednesday, January 9, Michel Gillibert, state secretary for the handicapped in the French Government.

After the interview, the French official told the press that he came to Romania and asked to be received by Premier Roman to give shape to the long-term cooperation program the governments of the two countries agreed on in November 1990, which refers in part to a number of humanitarian and social assistance actions for the handicapped and charity institutions in Romania. "We have already established certain actions with Prime Minister Roman, regarding first of all medical and paramedical courses for those who take care of the handicapped and the training of the handicapped themselves, stressed Mr. Gillibert.

Somalis Request Assistance for Emigration

AU0901211791 Bucharest ROMPRES in English
2033 GMT 9 Jan 91

["Miscelanea: Unwanted Immigrants"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/1/1991—Following the events in Somalia, a large number of Somali nationals have arrived in Romania purporting to emigrate to Western Europe, shows a press release of Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

On 7 January, around 10:00, about 180 Somalis, mostly youths and women with children, entered the UNO Center Headquarters in Bucharest to request the UN high commissioner for refugees to assist them emigrate to Western countries.

The group in question stayed on the premises refusing to leave unless their request was granted. Under the circumstances, the institutions based in the building of the UN Center had to desist their activities and the center was temporarily closed.

Since then, the group of Somalis has grown to 224 and, upon notification, the Romanian authorities have taken the first steps to provide the refugees with medical assistance and food.

Until the status of these persons is clarified, the Romanian authorities are taking the appropriate measures to ensure quarters and maintenance, in compliance with humanitarian principles and the country's obligations deriving from international agreements.

The Romanian Government decided to set up an inter-department board to jointly monitor the situation with Bucharest's Mayoralty.

Continued Efforts for Gulf Peace Supported

LD0901160991 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1529 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade Jan 9 (TANJUG)—Efforts being exerted by Yugoslavia as chairman of the movement of non-aligned towards finding a peaceful political solution of the gulf crisis have encountered support and encouragement among not only the directly concerned sides but also all nonaligned and other countries, and bearing this in mind, Yugoslavia is continuing its activity on searching for a peaceable solution.

The statement above was presented today by Assistant Foreign Secretary Branko Lukovac at a meeting in the federal secretariat with the ambassadors of nonaligned and observer countries accredited to Yugoslavia.

Lukovac acquainted comprehensively the ambassadors with the current activity of Yugoslavia as chair-country of the movement in finding out a peaceful solution of the crisis in conformity with the stands of nonaligned countries and the mandate entrusted with Yugoslavia at the October 4 meeting of nonaligned ministers in New York.

Today's meeting in the foreign secretariat was in the service of permanent consultations and conforming of a joint stand of the nonaligned towards the crisis in the gulf.

As for the continuation of peace mission, it is precisely today that it takes on one more dimension because Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar is this evening to meet with his counterparts of Luxembourg, Italy and the Netherlands, that is the present, former and future chairmen of the European Community.

The European Community at its meeting on January 4 made a decision on the closest possible cooperation with Yugoslavia as chairman of the movement of nonaligned in the seeking of a solution of the crisis. It may well be expected that Loncar will advise his hosts about the talks he had in Baghdad recently and those he held in Saudi Arabia a few days ago.

Presidency Calls For Surrendering of Weapons

LD0901154391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic
Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—It has been reported that at its session today, the SFRY Presidency, presided over by President Dr. Borisav Jovic, came to the following conclusion:

"The SFRY Presidency, in accordance with its constitutional obligations and competence from Article 313 of the SFRY Constitution, during examination of the situation in the sphere of protection of the SFRY constitutional order and developments directly threatening the order, came to the conclusion that in certain parts of the country, weapons from some neighboring and other countries are being secretly imported and distributed to

citizens according to their national and political affiliations, which represents a flagrant violation of SFRY laws and which is aided by some organizations in foreign countries, with full cognizance of their government bodies. This means that within certain political parties illegal paramilitary armed groups are being formed which, by their existence and planned terrorist activities, constitute a direct threat of armed rebellion and large-scale intranational conflicts with far-reaching consequences for the security of our citizens, sovereignty, and the integrity of the country.

To thwart such activities and make possible peaceful democratic processes within the SFRY and implementation of the initiated reform, the SFRY Presidency, at its session on 9 January 1991, issued the following:

Order

1. Under the order, all armed groups on the territory of the SFRY not included within the SFRY Armed Forces or within internal affairs bodies, and whose organization is not based on federal regulations are to be disbanded.
2. The weapons and equipment referred to in Point 1 of his order are to be handed over immediately to the nearest units or institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) regardless of whether they belong to individual organs in the republics or are in the possession of various groups or individuals.
3. Individuals who possess military weapons, ammunition, and other combat equipment are obliged to hand them over to the nearest JNA unit or institution upon which they will be issued with a receipt.
4. The obligations from Points 1-3 of this order must be carried out within 10 days of the order's effect date.

Individuals who fully comply with the order within the set deadline will not be called to account. Measures envisaged by law will be taken against individuals who fail to fulfill their obligations from the order.

5. Under a special order from the SFRY Presidency and in connection with the above order, the JNA will take measures to protect all citizens on the entire SFRY territory if other competent organs are not in the position to do the same.

6. In line with its powers from the law on national defense (the SFRY Official Gazette, No. 21/82) the Federal Secretariat for National Defense will oversee the implementation of the order.

7. The JNA units and institutions to be appointed by the Federal Secretariat for National Defense will have the task of ensuring that the order is carried out.

8. The text of the order is to be published in all public information media.

9. The order comes into effect on the day of its adoption.

The Presidency of the SFRY, President Dr. Borisav Jovic
Belgrade, 9 January 1991

Session Deemed 'Full of Conflict'

AU0901182391 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia
Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] We have learned from circles close to the SFRY Presidency some details about the Presidency session that was discussing a package of regulations concerning the position of the Yugoslav People's Army. The official announcement gives only the contents of the decree adopted at the session. However, we have also learned from the same circles that the debate on this issue was full of conflict. Federal Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic also attended the session on behalf of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense which demanded that the exact decree be adopted. Dr. Janez Drnovsek, member of the Federal Presidency from our republic, as well as Vice President Stipe Mesic were harshly opposing the adoption of the said decree.

Dr. Drnovsek recalled that it had been agreed at the previous session that members of the Croatian leadership and Stipe Mesic should meet with Veljko Kadijevic and hold talks before the decree on disarmament is adopted. Such talks between them have not been held, and, despite that, the decree was adopted today.

Janez Drnovsek, Stipe Mesic, member of the SFRY Presidency and its vice president, voted against the decree and then walked out of the session.

As we learned unofficially, the decree that used the phrase about the dissolution of all armed groups which are not a part of the units of the armed forces of Yugoslavia, or of the internal affairs organs, mostly applies to the situation in Croatia. Many members of the Presidency, above all President Borisav Jovic, said in the debate at the session today that there are not only armed groups of ethnic Serbs in Croatia, but also the so-called party army, which is hiding behind the republican Internal Ministry.

The decree gives the Army the power to implement the provisions of the adopted regulation, although, as we have learned unofficially, Veljko Kadijevic said that what is involved is only the Army's competence at the very process of taking away the arms, while the disarmament process will after 10 days be done by judicial and other state organs.

We have also learned from the circles close to the SFRY Presidency that also discussed at the session today was the letter of the Croatian and Slovene leadership demanding depolitization of the Army, but it was only established that a law on that matter has already been sent to the SFRY Assembly.

The SFRY Presidency did not today adopt the demand of the Slovene Presidency to reexamine the recently adopted measure according to which the command of

the Slovene Territorial Defense is in the hands of the Command of the Fifth Army District.

We have also learned that already at the beginning of the today's session Dr. Janez Drnovsek demanded a debate on the Serbia's incursion into the financial system of the state, but the demand was not accepted. Basically, most of the SFRY Presidency members were of the opinion that the matter can be discussed after the reports of inspection services which are in all republics are received.

We have also learned from the same circles that the majority of the Presidency members also rejected Drnovsek's proposal according to which Federal Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the governor of the National Bank of Yugoslavia, Dusan Vlatkovic, should also be invited to attend the session.

Janez Drnovsek warned Borisav Jovic about the use of double standards, so a problem caused by Serbia cannot find itself on the agenda.

Croatia Opposes Disarming Groups

LD1001105791 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0937 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Zagreb, January 10 (TANJUG)—The Croatian authorities said in Zagreb this morning that they would not permit the Yugoslav People's Army to interfere in affairs which are under the jurisdiction of the police in that western republic.

The Council for National Defense and Protection of the Constitutional Order of the Republic of Croatia, headed by the president of Yugoslavia's second largest republic Dr. Franjo Tudjman, was categorical that there are no armed groups such as those mentioned in the order issued to the Yugoslav Army by the Yugoslav state presidency yesterday, with the sole exception of the territory around the city of Knin in northern Dalmatia, a region in Croatia, this morning's statement said.

The Knin region, with a predominantly Serb population, proclaimed an autonomous region as a means of defense from, as this population claims, the unjust policy of the Croatian authorities elected at last spring's first post-war multiparty elections.

The Yugoslav State presidency informed the Yugoslav Army that it must collect weapons from [words indistinct] in the entire territory of Yugoslavia within ten days.

The Council for National Defense and Protection of the Constitutional Order assesses that the order which transforms the Army into the police, the only force responsible for securing law and order under the Croatian Constitution, might be misused to suspend and even topple legally established institutions of democratic power in certain Yugoslav republics.

The council underscores that the Yugoslav Presidency decision was adopted by outvoting and in the [words indistinct] of a representative from the Republic of Croatia and one from Macedonia. The timing of the order, which was issued on the eve of today's session in Belgrade of the top-ranking federal leadership and the leaderships of all republics and provinces, will not contribute to the success of the session, the statement said.

The council warns that the Republic of Croatia will mobilize all members of the Croatian nation in the country and abroad and the entire democratic public in the defense of its sovereignty.

The Slovenian National Defense Secretariat last night also announced that there are no groups in Slovenia to which the Yugoslav State Presidency order might pertain.

Slovenia Rejects Arms Order

LD0901174891 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1725 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—“The Slovene territorial defense is organized in line with federal and republican regulations, and therefore, the SFRY Presidency order [on surrendering weapons] cannot at all refer to headquarters, units, institutes and members of the Slovene territorial defense,” the Slovene secretariat for National Defense said, reacting to the SFRY Presidency order, in a statement for the public issued today.

The statement adds that “Slovene bodies are able and prepared to protect the population of this republic, and, hence, additional Yugoslav People's Army protection is unnecessary.”

Political Climate Before Federation Summit Noted

LD1001085491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1308 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Dragan Janjic report]

Belgrade, January 9 (TANJUG) - On the eve of a crucial meeting called to discuss the future organization of Yugoslavia, relations among political leaderships in different parts of the country have suddenly deteriorated.

At tomorrow's meeting, the members of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, Prime Minister Ante Markovic and the presidents of the six federated republics are to start negotiations on a new state organization of the multinational community.

The climate for negotiations suddenly worsened over Serbia's unauthorized penetration into the federal financial funds. By a secret decision, the government of the biggest Yugoslav republic made it possible for itself to appropriate 18.3 billion dinars (about 1.4 billion dollars) of new money of the Federal Bank.

The Slovenian Government has announced that this decision of the Serbian authorities shows their attitude

towards a settlement of the Yugoslav crisis. “It is now evident who is breaking up Yugoslavia,” it added.

Croatia and Slovenia have announced measures to protect their economies, and the press in the two republics is again mentioning a possibility of introducing their own currencies.

Along with financial-political conflicts, a state-law dispute over the status of some 2 million ethnic Albanians living largely in Kosovo and Macedonia has again become topical.

Political leaders of ethnic Albanians have again warned that no agreement on the future of Yugoslavia is possible without their participation. Their objective—the ethnic Albanian Committee for the Protection of Human Rights in Kosovo announced before tomorrow's meeting—is the proclamation of this province of Serbia an independent republic.

The republican status implies the right of secession from the Yugoslav federation. Ibrahim Rugova and other leaders of Kosovo Albanians expect that the Albanian people will link together as part of the European integration.

The question of borders is of special interest to Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the eve of tomorrow's session, the Presidency of this republic stressed the necessity of maintaining the existing borders between the Yugoslav republics.

Croatian and Serbian nationalists have territorial claims towards Bosnia-Herzegovina, which is inhabited by approximately equal number of Moslems, Serbs and Croats.

Relations between Serbs in Croatia—who, according to the 1981 census, account for about 11 per cent of the republic's population—and the Croatian authorities are also straining. Late last year Knin and the nearby municipalities populated largely by Serbs formed the autonomous region of Krajina and now also their own police.

The Croatian press accuses the authorities in Belgrade of backing the “rebellion” of Serbs in Croatia with the intention of weakening the republic's position in negotiations on the future of Yugoslavia.

In spite of the “hot” political atmosphere on the eve of tomorrow's meeting, there are no indications that any of the participants plans not to attend. Judging by statements of politicians and press reports, they will face long and arduous negotiations.

Macedonia To Support ‘Preserving’ Federation

LD1001083991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0021 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Skopje, January 9 (TANJUG)—At tomorrow's Yugoslavia summit on the future order in Yugoslavia, the constituent Republic of Macedonia will work for

preserving Yugoslavia, Dr. Mitkov, president of the Presidency of Macedonia, said here this evening.

While acquainting the Macedonian parliament with the republican leadership's platform with which to appear at the Yugoslavia-wide coming to agreement, Mitkov emphasised that Macedonia opposes all forms of undermining and destroying Yugoslavia.

In his words, Macedonia will work for consistently and urgently carrying out obligations set between the federation and its republics, including obligations the federation has to Macedonia.

The Macedonian leadership has evaluated that, when setting Yugoslavia's future order, one must start from interests of its republics as sovereign states and their lasting right to self-determination, also including secession.

Macedonia will all the time take care of protecting the parts of the Macedonian people living in neighbouring countries and insist on this also being the care of the future joint state, the Macedonian leadership think.

Macedonia's parliament has made the participation of its representatives at this meeting conditional on the presence of all the constituent republics.

Brought forward at the session was that today be passed a declaration on Macedonia's full sovereignty. [sentence as received] A discussion of this matter was postponed for one of the coming sessions of parliament since, as concluded, involved was an exceptionally important topic requiring preparations.

Economic Chamber Examines 'Dramatic' Situation

LD0901195191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1841 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—The president of the Economic Chamber of Yugoslavia, Dagmar Suster, has sent a letter to the SFRY Presidency, drawing the attention of the participants of tomorrow's meeting in the SFRY Presidency to the extremely dramatic situation in which the Yugoslav economy finds itself.

The decision to send a letter to the SFRY Presidency was reached at today's session of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber. The presidents of the republican and provincial economic chambers took part in the session.

Here is the letter:

- The economic situation in Yugoslavia is worsening dramatically. We have entered a maelstrom of haphazard and anarchic functioning of the economic and financial system, in which even the minimum conditions for economic activity do not exist.
- The political situation and the uncertainty about the future of Yugoslavia have a catastrophic impact on and are destroying Yugoslavia's economic tissue, which in turn obstructs the work of entire business systems and even of branches of the economy.

—The reform of the economic and political system did not tip the balance of power in favor of the economy, that is, it did not create the atmosphere for market economy.

—In the absence of clear long-term and short-term measures at the level of Yugoslavia, global political and economic restructurings are having detrimental consequences on the Yugoslav economy.

—The expected all-Yugoslav consensus about the reduction in general and common expenditure on the part of sociopolitical communities from the level of municipalities to the federation, which has been urged, has not been reached.

The level of public expenditure in the country could not be sustained even by the richest and most stable economies. So, we demand that public expenditure be reduced and a limit be set on it by law.

—Economic policy measures for 1991 do not insure even minimum production growth. Furthermore, a negative growth rate is planned, which is exceptionally dispiriting. A vision of development has failed to materialize.

—The recovery of Yugoslavia's financial system through the economic policy measures for 1991 has remained more than abstract. It is insufficiently clear whether this system is intended to recover by means of the financial reorganization of enterprises or whether everything will remain at the level of the banking system, which is still out of the economy's reach and under the direct control of the state.

—Yugoslavia's continued presence among countries of high political risk has a demotivating effect on investments in Yugoslavia, as well as on other forms of capital inflow, foreign economic relations, and other issues. In the absence of political consensus at the level of Yugoslavia, which would insure for the economy the necessary minimum for the functioning of the economic and financial systems, the business interest of foreign partners is also dropping.

The executive committee of the Yugoslav Economic Chamber expects that the SFRY Presidency—at a session tomorrow—will be briefed on these assessments and on the warning of the Yugoslav economy. We desire that a political agreement be reached as soon as possible on overcoming the deep political crisis, which is a fundamental prerequisite for saving the economy from the state of collapse in which it is now. We also demand that until such agreement is reached, normal conditions are insured for the functioning of the economy.

Presidency Session on Political Future Begins

LD1001102191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0955 GMT 10 Jan 91

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jan (TANJUG)—A session of the SFRY Presidency with Yugoslavia's political future as its only topic started in the Palace of the Federation in

Belgrade at 1000 this morning. The session is being attended by all SFRY Presidency members and the presidents of all the republics and provinces.

Bosnian President Backs Prime Minister Markovic

AU0901212791 Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE
in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 90 p 15

[Report on interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Nedim Saric, reprinted from NEDJELJA; place and date not given: "We Have the Most Stable Historic Borders"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] [Saric] The economic program of Ante Markovic has recently been criticized from various sides. What is the opinion about what Markovic is doing today?

[Izetbegovic] One should distinguish between two things: what Markovic wants to accomplish with his program, and what he has managed to achieve with it. Concerning the former, I can support a lot of things but not all of them and not quite the same. I could say that we share views concerning one important part of this program. However, concerning what he has managed to achieve, this is a different matter. Markovic has partially succeeded in some things. This refers to the curbing of inflation, although we have an overvalued dinar and an undervalued Deutsche mark. There is also something in which Markovic did not succeed at all. He did not manage to maintain the level of production. What is currently taking place is almost a disaster. I do not think Markovic would deny this. In order to fulfill and partially achieve one aim, Markovic paid too high a price, and production fell below the acceptable level, because a fall in production of 5 to 10 percent is considered catastrophic in the world. We had a fall of 10-20 percent for two years running. Markovic is obviously trying to tackle this problem, but it appears to me that, concerning the livening up of production, or at least maintaining an unacceptable level of production, he has not been successful. This is a problem. As far as I know, Markovic is preparing a package of measures for 1991. I do not know other details. This will be a topic at one of the future sessions which I have been invited to attend. This will be the first opportunity for me to take part in such a prominent meeting which will also be attended by the members of the SFRY Presidency, the Federal Executive Council, and the representatives of all republics. Nevertheless, despite everything I still think that Markovic is the only acceptable person for the position of president of the government. I am not sure that anybody could do a job better at present, at least I do not see anybody....

2,500 Strikers Block Roads Into Jajce

LD0901115591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 0840 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Summary] Jajce, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—More than 2,500 workers of Elektrobosna from Jajce this morning went on strike because Bosnian Electric failed to begin supplying this company with power in spite of an agreement

reached several days ago in the republican Executive Council. The electricity supplies were cut off because of unpaid bills. The workers blocked with heavy machinery main roads leading from Jajce to Banjaluka, Sarajevo, Bihac, and split with heavy machinery which caused a complete standstill of traffic.

Kosovo Journalist Jailed for Hunger Strike

AU0901215891 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST
in Serbo-Croatian 3 Jan 91 p 5

[HINA report: "Prison for Editor of SUN"]

[Text] Pristina—The Pristina Communal Court sentenced Jusuf Ferizi, president of the Association of Independent Journalists of Kosovo, to 60 days in prison. He was charged with having committed the punishable acts of participating in the preparation of the paper DIELLI (SUN), which is published in Albanian in Zagreb, and holding a hunger strike. Following his conviction, the Presidium of the Association of Independent Journalists of Kosovo issued a protest note demanding Ferizi's immediate release.

Albanian Parties Stress Political Rights

LD0901212591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1752 GMT 9 Jan 91

[Text] Pristina, 9 Jan (TANJUG)—Leaders of four Albanian-rallying parties from Kosovo and Metohija sent a joint letter to the SFRY Presidency today stressing "no agreement about the future of Yugoslavia can be accepted if Albanians do not take part in negotiations concerning it or if it is contrary to the clearly expressed political will of the Albanian people."

The Albanian people in Yugoslavia, the letter says, are resolute in their efforts to win the right to exercise their political will and individuality, and the right to take an equal part in the shaping of Yugoslavia. Emergency measures prevented them from achieving these goals, through the suspension of the work of the Kosovo Assembly and by preventing free and democratic elections for Albanians, who are now the only nation without its legitimate representatives.

"We express once more the resolve of the Albanian people and our resolve to fight for these goals," concludes the letter, which is signed by the chairmen of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance [Demokratski Savez Kosova], the Kosovo Peasants' Party [Seljacka Stranka Kosova], the Albanian Democratic Christian Party [Albanska Demokhriscanska Stranka], and the Kosovo Social Democratic Party [Socijal-demokratska Partija Kosova].

Peterle Deems Serb Incursion 'Criminal Act'

AU0901173591 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network
in Slovene 1800 GMT 8 Jan 91

[Sonja Znidarscic report]

[Text] After the Slovene government's session concluded, its representatives held a news conference and spoke in detail about the causes and consequences of this

arbitrary and impudent act on the part of the Serbian authorities. Here is a report by Sonja Znidarscic:

[Znidarscic] The president of the Slovene government, Lojze Peterle, has assessed this move by Serbia as a criminal act and an incursion into monetary and foreign exchange system of the state. This act is an expression of crude arbitrariness and an attempt to destabilize the state economically and politically, as well as an attempt on the part of those people to rear their heads and raise their voices to advocate the use of such methods in the state which are far from democracy and lead to complete chaos. According to Prime Minister Peterle, the government has drafted a special memorandum which it sent to the Federal Executive Council and is acquainting the public with its contents.

The president of the Executive Council also said that people in Slovenia had hoped that multiparty elections would create such an atmosphere in the country which would make possible correct and honest negotiations on how to (re)separate or how to live together and under what conditions. Obviously, this has not happened. Let us hear what Lojze Peterle has to say:

[Peterle] With this criminal act, the starting points, that is, conditions for negotiations are certainly deteriorating, and many people ask whether it is worth negotiating with people who are stealing from you while negotiating and when that which should represent a common political denominator is certainly being reduced to a very low level.

We are asking ourselves what can still be discussed or agreed upon under such conditions. We have still not agreed even whether we are going to hold negotiations.

We certainly think, as we have always done, that an agreement is necessary and that it is even more necessary in such a situation, and it is our standpoint that one should negotiate about things that can be negotiated. [word indistinct] with such a policy, an agreement on how to live together is not possible.

[Znidarscic] These measures will undoubtedly have huge negative consequences for foreign exchange and the dinar. However, it is clear that despite adopting these measures immediately before the new year, Serbia had already destroyed Yugoslav monetary and foreign exchange system, for one was buying foreign currency and paying out pensions on a grand scale in that republic, although the illiquidity of the banks was completely obvious.

This financial transaction of a republic that was otherwise very loud in advocating a unified Yugoslavia—and at the same time undermining its foundations whenever it could—means some 30 percent of the planned federal budget.

Since Serbia was tailoring a financial structure to suit itself and thereby making inflation spiral upward, our republic will do everything with a view to protecting its interests. This is, among other things, what Finance Minister Marko Kranjec said at the news conference. We shall adopt countermeasures to protect Slovenia's interests. The introduction of our own money is one of the options. The republic

will guarantee dinar and foreign exchange deposits while commercial banks will guarantee bonds.

Unlike the Croatian Executive Council, the Slovene Executive Council has not adopted decisions that Slovene enterprises should stop selling goods to Serbia. However, it calls on Slovene enterprises to do only straight cash transactions or barter.

Let us also say that late this afternoon, Lojze Peterle will meet members of a Croatian delegation in Otocec. They will discuss the new situation. They are expected to agree on joint stances and measures.

Public Opinion Poll on Politicians' Popularity

AU0901205391

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian in its issue for 31 December 1990, and 1-2 January 1991 carries a 1,000-word report on the results of a public opinion poll on the popularity of Yugoslav politicians, entitled "Ante Markovic, Man of the Year."

The poll was carried out between 17 and 21 December 1990 by two "independent research teams—the Varianta from Ljubljana and the Takt from Belgrade—which polled 1,500 people who were randomly selected from telephone directories." The respondents were asked to give politicians a mark between 1 and 10. The popularity ratings are based on the averages given to each politician.

The Varinata team covered Slovenia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, while the Takt covered Serbia (without provinces), Macedonia, and Montenegro.

According to the report, the greatest response was in Macedonia while the worst was in Serbia and Montenegro.

The results of the poll are presented in several bar charts as follows:

Table 1. "First 10 politicians in Yugoslavia."

1. Markovic	6.7
2. Jovic	5.9
3. Tupurkovski	5.81
4. Kadijevic	5.7
5. Pregl	5.41
6. Drnovsek	5.33
7. Bulatovic	5.15
8. Milosevic	5.02
9. Kucan	4.98
10. Bogicevic	4.74

Table 2. "The Rating of Other Politicians on the Yugoslav 'List'."

Bucin	4.6
Izetbegovic	4.5
Durakovic	4.35
Peterle	4.3
Ribicic	4.3
Kecmanovic	4.27
Racan	4.27
Tudjman	4.2
Mesic	4.1
Dapcevic	3.73
Raskovic	3.7
Draskovic	2.92

Table 3. "Markovic—Average Marks According to the Republics."

Macedonia	8.5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	8.2
Croatia	6.2
Slovenia	6.0
Montenegro	5.7
Serbia	5.1

Table 4. "First Six Politicians in Bosnia-Herzegovina."

1. Markovic	8.3
2. Izetbegovic	6.9
3. Jovic	6.4
4. Drnovsek	6.4
5. Durakovic	6.1
6. Kadijevic	6.0

Table 5. "First Six Politicians in Montenegro."

1. Milosevic	8.98
2. Jovic	8.93
3. Bulatovic	8.9
4. Kadijevic	8.4
5. Tupurkovski	7.1
6. Bucin	6.3

Table 6. "First Six Politicians in Croatia."

1. Tudjman	7.8
2. Kucan	7.5
3. Drnovsek	7.0
4. Peterle	6.5
5. Markovic	6.3
6. Mesic	5.6

Table 7. "First Six Politicians in Macedonia."

1. Markovic	8.55
2. Tupurkovski	8.5
3. Kadijevic	7.3
4. Jovic	6.7
5. Andov	6.6
6. Georgijevski	5.9

Table 8. "First Six Politicians in Slovenia."

1. Drnovsek	9.3
2. Kucan	9.1
3. Peterle	7.5
4. Ribicic	7.3
5. Tudjman	6.8
6. Pregl	6.4

Table 9. "First Six Politicians in Serbia."

1. Milosevic	8.0
2. Jovic	8.0
3. Kadijevic	7.5
4. Bulatovic	7.4
5. Tupurkovski	6.7
6. Djuric	6.1

Table 10. "Tudjman-Milosevic (marks according to the republics)"

	Tudjman	Milosevic
Croatia	7.7	1.5
Slovenia	6.8	1.5
Bosnia-Herzegovina	4.8	4.2
Macedonia	2.2	5.9
Serbia	1.8	8.0
Montenegro	1.4	8.9

Table 11. "Bulatovic-Izetbegovic-Kucan (marks according to the republics)"

	Bulatovic	Izetbegovic	Kucan
Serbia	7.4	3.9	2.7
Croatia	1.9	4.8	7.5
Slovenia	2.2	4.3	9.1
Bosnia-Herzegovina	5.1	6.9	5.9
Montenegro	8.9	3.7	2.0
Macedonia	5.4	3.5	2.7